

“HALLO, HALLO! ACHTUNG! ACHTUNG!...”:  
A PERFORMER’S GUIDE TO THE THERESIENSTADT COMPOSITIONS OF  
VIKTOR ULLMANN FOR THE MEZZO-SOPRANO

A DISSERTATION  
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE  
DOCTOR OF ARTS  
BY  
CYNTHIA L. SMITH

DR. KATHLEEN MAURER – CO-CHAIRPERSON

DR. LINDA POHLY – CO-CHAIRPERSON

BALL STATE UNIVERSITY

MUNCIE, INDIANA

DECEMBER 2014

# CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	vi
LIST OF MUSICAL FIGURES.....	viii
Chapter One	
Introduction.....	1
Primary Source Documents and Manuscripts.....	3
Published Research and Musical Scores.....	4
Issues of <i>Fach</i> and Printed Scores.....	6
Methodology.....	8
Format According to the Kimball Model.....	8
Chapter Two	
The Early Years.....	11
Collegiate Education and Early Career.....	13
Prelude to Deportation.....	21
The Theresienstadt Ghetto .....	25
Life in the Ghetto.....	27
Composing in Theresienstadt.....	31
Compositional Style of and Influences on Ullmann.....	35
Ullmann’s Vocal Music.....	42
Chapter Three – Pieces for Voice and Piano.....	45
<i>Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)</i> (Three Yiddish Songs (Birch)), op. 53.....	46
“Berjoskele” (Little Birch Tree).....	49
“Margarithelech” (Daisies).....	55
“A Mejdel in die Johren” (A Girl Who Is No Longer Young).....	60
<i>Drei chinesische Lieder</i> (Three Chinese Songs).....	64
“Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge”	
(A Traveler Awakes in a Hostel).....	66
“Der müde Soldat” (The Tired Solider).....	73
<i>Immer inmitten</i> , Solo-Kantate nach Gedichten von Hans Günther Adler	
(Always in the Midst, Solo Cantata with Poetry by Hans Günther Adler).....	78
“Immer inmitten” (Always in the Midst).....	80
“Vor der Ewigkeit” (In the Face of Eternity).....	88
Ullmann as a Song Composer.....	94
Chapter Four – Pieces Originally Orchestrated for String Trio or Full Orchestra.....	95
The Mezzo-Soprano and the String Trio.....	96

<i>Lieder der Tröstung</i> (Songs of Consolation).....	97
“Tote wollen nicht verweilen...”	
(The Dead Do Not Wish to Linger...).....	99
“Erwachen zu Weihnachten” (Awakening at Christmas).....	106
“Herbst” (Autumn).....	111
<i>Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Tod Verweigerung</i>	
(The Emperor of Atlantis or Death’s Refusal), op. 49.....	120
“Arie des Trommlers” (The Drummer’s Aria).....	134
Chapter Five	
Conclusion .....	145
Suggestions for Further Study.....	147
Appendix I	
Texts, International Phonetic Alphabet Transcriptions, and Translations.....	151
Appendix II	
Translations for Relevant Poetry and Texts.....	177
Appendix III – Suggestions for Pieces to Pair with Ullmann Works in Recital.....	182
Pieces by Fellow Holocaust Composers.....	182
Pieces by Contemporaries and Mentors of Ullmann.....	183
Pieces that Share Themes or Similar Instrumentation with Ullmann’s Works...	186
Pieces by Ullmann Composed before 1942.....	189
Bibliography.....	190

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I extend my sincere gratitude to my doctoral committee co-chairpersons, Dr. Kathleen Maurer and Dr. Linda Pohly, for their feedback and encouragement. I truly appreciate the interest and support of my doctoral committee members: Mr. Scott Anderson, Dr. Keith Kothman, and Dr. Meryl Mantione. I would like to acknowledge those who supported me or my work during my time at Ball State University, especially Maria Alexeeva, Shellie Beeman, Dorene Chen, Dr. Frank Felsenstein, and the members of the Sanctuary Choir at First Baptist Church, Muncie, IN.

I would also like to thank Dr. Dom Caristi, the Fulbright Program Advisor at Ball State University, for encouraging me to pursue a Fulbright U.S. Student Award, and therefore, making the research for this dissertation thorough, and indeed, an absolute adventure. The majority of my international research took place at the Paul Sacher Foundation in Basel, Switzerland. I am grateful to the staff of the Foundation, especially Johanna Blask and Tina Kilvio Tüscher, for being helpful and accommodating. I would like to thank Dr. Heidi Zimmermann, curator of the Viktor Ullmann collection at the Paul Sacher Foundation, for her assistance, specifically with the Yiddish translations. Furthermore, I truly appreciate Dr. Jacques Picard, my University of Basel Fulbright sponsor, for his assistance with my transition researching in Switzerland.

I am blessed to have performed all of the pieces discussed in this guide at Ball State University with the talented Dr. Galit Gertsenzon Fromm, piano; Snow Shen, violin; Grace Eun Hey Park, cello; Jeremy Jones, viola; and Ed Mellen, percussion. During my time in Basel, Switzerland, I collaborated with the accomplished pianist

Oliwia Grabowska in the performance of *Drei jiddische Lieder (Brezulinka)* (Three Yiddish Songs (Birch)), op. 53, and *Drei chinesische Lieder* (Three Chinese Songs). I would like to thank Amador Buda, piano; Debora Büttner, mezzo-soprano; Alena Sojer, piano; Flurina Stucki, soprano; and Faristamo Susi, piano, for assisting me in bringing exposure to Ullmann's works through performing in the June 2014 lecture recital *Kammermusik von Viktor Ullmann Mit Musikern der Musikhochschule Basel-Stadt* (Chamber Music of Viktor Ullmann with Musicians from the Music Academy Basel) at the Goetheanum in Dornach, Switzerland.

I thank Dr. Jeremy Adler for allowing me to view his father's archive collection at the German Literature Archive in Marbach am Neckar, Germany. I am indebted to Mira Zakai for cheerfully giving of her time and experience to assist with the translation of Ullmann's Yiddish cycle and for her guidance in creating a list of works that pair well with Ullmann's works in recital.

Finally, I want to extend my sincere gratitude to my family. I am beholden to my great-uncle, E. Woodrow Woods, who posthumously inspired my interest in Holocaust studies through his chronicled experiences as a World War II US Army liberator of the Dachau concentration camp. I especially thank my parents for their unconditional love and support. I am forever thankful for my longsuffering husband, Aaron, whose selflessness throughout this journey has been truly admirable.

## **ABSTRACT**

Viktor Ullmann's vocal compositions are exceptional works of art that were forgotten for decades and are infrequently performed in North America. Ullmann (1898-1944) developed his mature compositional style during his two-year imprisonment in the Nazi ghetto of Theresienstadt. A student of Arnold Schoenberg's Second Viennese School and Alois Hába at the Prague Conservatory, Ullmann developed his own compositional style that featured a prolific use of motivic material, a balance of tonality and atonality, the importance of the natural-harmonic-series, careful prosody settings, the use of dynamics to increase tension, overlapping phrase structure, the use of polyphonic texture including imitation and canonic techniques, and equality between the vocal line and the accompaniment. As a composer of vocal music, Ullmann's understanding of the potential difficulties experienced by singers of twentieth-century compositions is clear. He composed quality pieces that deserve to be performed and are excellent additions to the classical canon regardless of their compositional circumstances. The quality of these works is demonstrated in Ullmann's choice of setting lauded poets and poems, the performance of his works by noted singers and opera companies, and the wide acceptance of these pieces by international audiences. Ullmann's oeuvre is an important link in the chain of western art music tradition.

This guide provides singers and teachers of singing with the necessary information for the successful performance of Ullmann's Theresienstadt-period works (1942-44) that are appropriate for a mezzo-soprano. Chapter 1 provides an explanation of the research, analytical methods, and processes for this guide. A short biography of

Ullmann, in chapter 2, follows his growth as composer, conductor, music critic and journalist, pianist, and teacher, including his imprisonment in Theresienstadt. Chapters 3 and 4 of this guide provide specific information for the successful performance of *Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)* (Three Yiddish Songs (Birch)), op. 53; *Drei chinesische Lieder* (Three Chinese Songs); *Immer inmitten*, Solo-Kantate nach Gedichten von Hans Günther Adler (Always in the Midst, Solo Cantata with Poetry by Hans Günther Adler); *Lieder der Tröstung* (Songs of Consolation); “Herbst” (Autumn); and “Arie des Trommlers” (The Drummer’s Aria) from *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Tod Verweigerung* (The Emperor of Atlantis or Death’s Refusal), op. 49. The final chapter presents suggestions for further research and concludes the guide. The appendices contain International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) transcriptions, English translations, and a list of works that pair well in recital with the compositions discussed in this guide. The availability of Ullmann’s scores by Schott make his works readily accessible for performance in recital.

## LIST OF MUSICAL FIGURES

### Chapter Three – Pieces for Voice and Piano

Figure 3.1. V. Ullmann, <i>Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)</i> , “Berjoskele,” mm. 5-7.....	50
Figure 3.2. V. Ullmann, <i>Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)</i> , “Berjoskele,” mm. 19-23.....	52
Figure 3.3. V. Ullmann, <i>Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)</i> , “Berjoskele,” mm. 14-16.....	53
Figure 3.4. V. Ullmann, <i>Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)</i> , “Margarithelech,” mm. 4-6.....	57
Figure 3.5. V. Ullmann, <i>Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)</i> , “Margarithelech,” mm. 1-3.....	58
Figure 3.6. V. Ullmann, <i>Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)</i> , “A Mejdle in die Jöhren,” mm. 4-9.....	61
Figure 3.7. V. Ullmann, <i>Drei chinesische Lieder</i> , “Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge,” mm. 1-2.....	67
Figure 3.8. V. Ullmann, <i>Drei chinesische Lieder</i> , “Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge,” mm. 8-10.....	69
Figure 3.9. V. Ullmann, <i>Drei chinesische Lieder</i> , “Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge,” mm. 15-24.....	70
Figure 3.10. V. Ullmann, <i>Drei chinesische Lieder</i> , “Der müde Soldat,” m. 1-3.....	74
Figure 3.11. V. Ullmann, <i>Immer inmitten</i> , “Immer inmitten,” mm. 1-4.....	81
Figure 3.12. V. Ullmann, <i>Immer inmitten</i> , “Immer inmitten,” mm. 36-38.....	82
Figure 3.13. V. Ullmann, <i>Immer inmitten</i> , “Immer inmitten,” mm. 11-13.....	84
Figure 3.14. V. Ullmann, <i>Immer inmitten</i> , “Vor der Ewigkeit,” mm. 1-3.....	89
Figure 3.15. V. Ullmann, <i>Immer inmitten</i> , “Vor der Ewigkeit,” mm. 65-68.....	91



## Chapter Four – Pieces Originally Orchestrated for String Trio or Full Orchestra

Figure 4.1. V. Ullmann, <i>Lieder der Tröstung</i> , “Tote wollen nicht verweilen...,” mm. 6-8.....	100
Figure 4.2. V. Ullmann, <i>Lieder der Tröstung</i> , “Tote wollen nicht verweilen...,” mm. 11-13.....	101
Figure 4.3. V. Ullmann, <i>Lieder der Tröstung</i> , “Tote wollen nicht verweilen...,” mm. 1-3.....	103
Figure 4.4. V. Ullmann, <i>Lieder der Tröstung</i> , “Tote wollen nicht verweilen...,” mm. 11-17.....	105
Figure 4.5 V. Ullmann, <i>Lieder der Tröstung</i> , “Erwachen zu Weihnachten,” mm. 11-14.....	107
Figure 4.6. V. Ullmann, <i>Lieder der Tröstung</i> , “Erwachen zu Weihnachten,” mm. 4-6.....	110
Figure 4.7. V. Ullmann, <i>Lieder der Tröstung</i> , “Erwachen zu Weihnachten,” mm. 7-10.....	111
Figure 4.8. V. Ullmann, “Herbst,” mm. 1-5.....	113
Figure 4.9. V. Ullmann, “Herbst,” mm. 61-68.....	114
Figure 4.10. V. Ullmann, “Herbst,” mm. 31-39.....	116
Figure 4.11. V. Ullmann, <i>Der Kaiser von Atlantis</i> , op. 49: Scene 1, Nr. vi: “Arie des Trommlers,” mm. 1-4.....	128
Figure 4.12. V. Ullmann, <i>Der Kaiser von Atlantis</i> , op. 49: Scene 1, Nr. vi: “Arie des Trommlers,” mm. 74-77.....	139
Figure 4.13. V. Ullmann, <i>Der Kaiser von Atlantis</i> , op. 49: Scene 1, Nr. vi: “Arie des Trommlers,” mm. 33-36.....	142

# CHAPTER ONE

## Introduction

As in a still life, painting tears away the ephemeral, the perishable thing or the quickly fading flower and likewise arrests landscape, human face and form or the important historical moment from transience. Music accomplishes the same for all that relates to the soul, for the emotions and the passions of human beings, for the “libido” in the broadest sense, for Eros and Thanatos.<sup>1</sup>

-Viktor Ullmann

This dissertation is a performance guide for compositions by Viktor Ullmann that were composed for or are performable by a mezzo-soprano; these works were composed during the period Ullmann was imprisoned in the Nazi ghetto Theresienstadt.<sup>2</sup> All of the pieces discussed in this guide are quality compositions that deserve to be performed as part of the classical vocal canon. Ullmann’s choice of setting lauded poets and poems, the performance of his works by noted performers and opera companies, and the wide acceptance of these pieces by international audiences demonstrate the quality of these works. Ullmann’s works are historically significant, demonstrate the strength of the human spirit, and are simply beautiful. These works are infrequently performed in the United States, possibly due to a combination of factors including, but not limited to

---

<sup>1</sup> This quote is from Ullmann’s Theresienstadt essay, “Goethe and Ghetto,” written in the autumn of 1943. “Malerei entreisst, wie im Stilleben das ephemere, vergängliche Ding oder die rasch welkende Blume, so auch Landschaft, Menschenantlitz und Gestalt oder den bedeutenden geschichtlichen Augenblick der Vergänglichkeit, Musik vollzieht dasselbe für alles Seelische, für Eros and Thanatos.” Gwyneth Rachel Bravo, “Staging Death: Allegory in the Operas of Erwin Schulhoff and Viktor Ullmann” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2011), 318-9.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout this guide, I use the title National Socialist Party, Nazi, or Third Reich instead of Germany or German out of respect for all of the victims, regardless of nationality, religion, or creed of National Socialism in Central Europe in the twentieth century. The names Theresienstadt (German) and Terezín (Czech) are interchangeable in the literature on this subject. Theresienstadt is used in this guide as this is the name of the place as Ullmann knew it. Additionally, Theresienstadt is referenced as both a ghetto and a concentration camp. These terms are not mutually exclusive and are used interchangeably in the research. Theresienstadt is discussed in-depth in chapter 2.

difficulty level, language, subject matter, and a lack of availability. Additionally, music intrinsically tied to a subject as delicate and sensitive as the Holocaust can cause reservations in performers. The main goal of this guide is to increase the performance of Ullmann's compositions by providing singers and teachers of singing with a comprehensive understanding of the life of Viktor Ullmann and relevant performance tools for the eleven pieces presented in this guide.<sup>3</sup>

Knowledge of these works adds to the body of mezzo-soprano repertoire; new or recently discovered vocal music is always a welcome addition to the vocal repertoire. Ullmann's Yiddish songs are examples of his exploration of his Jewish heritage and offer singers an outlet for multi-cultural expression. The lieder cycles *Drei chinesische Lieder* (Three Chinese Songs) and *Immer inmitten* (Always in the Midst) are vocally challenging, yet accessible, works that are appropriate repertoire for graduate-level vocalists. Preparation and performance of the pieces for singer and string trio, *Lieder der Tröstung* (Songs of Consolation) and "Herbst" (Autumn), provide excellent opportunities for collaboration with other musicians. "Arie des Trommlers" (The Drummer's Aria), from Ullmann's Theresienstadt opera, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Todverweigerung* (The Emperor of Atlantis or Death's Refusal), op. 49, can be used as an audition or competition aria in German for mezzo-soprano, a category that currently contains few choices and lacks diversity.

Ullmann's vocal music composed in Theresienstadt can be placed in one of three categories: arrangements of existing songs, original songs, and original text set to an

---

<sup>3</sup> Ullmann's life and oeuvre are discussed in detail in chapter 2.

existing melody.<sup>4</sup> Ullmann's *Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)*, op. 53, is a collection of three arrangements of existing Yiddish folksongs. Original songs composed by Ullmann include the piece "Herbst" and the cycles *Drei Chinesische Lieder*, *Immer inmitten*, and *Lieder der Tröstung*. "Arie des Trommlers" from *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, falls under the category of a work with an original text set to an existing melody—that of Joseph Haydn's "Gott erhalten Franz den Kaiser" (God Save Franz the Emperor).<sup>5</sup> Common themes in a majority of Ullmann's Theresienstadt works are sleep, unrest, war, suffering, and death.

### Primary Source Documents and Manuscripts

Some challenges arise in the research process related to the circumstances of Ullmann's imprisonment and death. Personal documents and records are not always available for victims of the Holocaust, and evidence regarding composer motivation and process often were destroyed or lost. Despite this, more of Ullmann's Theresienstadt compositions and writings survive than those from any other composer of the Theresienstadt ghetto. Before his deportation from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz, Ullmann packed all of his manuscripts for the journey. He decided at the last minute to entrust them to fellow Theresienstadt prisoner Dr. Emil Utitz (1883-1956) with the orders that Utitz return them to Ullmann, or in the worst-case scenario, give them to his friend Dr.

---

<sup>4</sup> David Bloch, "'No One Can Rob of Us Our Dreams': Solo Songs from Terezín," *Israel Studies in Musicology* 5 (1990): 69.

<sup>5</sup> Ullmann's opera, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, and his use of the Haydn's hymn, "Gott erhalten Franz den Kaiser" are explored in detail in chapter 4.

Hans Günther Adler (1910-88) after the war.<sup>6</sup> Unlike Ullmann, both Utitz and Adler survived the Holocaust, and per Ullmann's instruction, Utitz gave Ullmann's documents to Adler.<sup>7</sup> After a two-year period in Prague, Adler emigrated to Great Britain, and Ullmann's documents remained with Adler in London until they were given to the Goetheanum in Dornach, Switzerland, before Adler's death.<sup>8</sup> The manuscripts were officially entrusted by the Adler estate to the Goetheanum in 2002 and moved to the archives of the Paul Sacher Foundation in Basel, Switzerland, in December 2006. All of Ullmann's Theresienstadt works currently are held at the Paul Sacher Foundation with the exception of the two pieces with text written by Adler. The manuscript for the solo cantata *Immer inmitten* is considered part of the Adler family trust and is held in the King's College London Archives in London, England.<sup>9</sup>

### Published Research and Musical Scores

The study of music composed during the Holocaust, specifically Viktor Ullmann's oeuvre, is a growing area of music research, and this guide adds to the canon of knowledge already established on this topic. Organizations such as Yad Vashem in

---

<sup>6</sup> Ullmann's relationship with Utitz is discussed in chapter 2. Ullmann's collaboration with Adler and Adler's care of the documents are covered in chapters 2 and 3. Ingo Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008), 195-6.

<sup>7</sup> Bravo, "Staging Death: Allegory in the Operas of Erwin Schulhoff and Viktor Ullmann," 32.

<sup>8</sup> Ullmann's ties to the Goetheanum and anthroposophy are discussed in chapter 2. In addition to musical compositions, Ullmann wrote the libretto for a two-act opera concerning Joan of Arc titled *Der 30. Mai 1431* (The 30<sup>th</sup> of May 1431), a diary in poetic form called *Der fremde Passagier* (The Strange Passenger), and twenty-six reviews of Theresienstadt musical performances.

<sup>9</sup> For a full list of Ullmann's compositions, including dates, dedications, and publisher, please see Ingo Schultz's "Systematisches Werkverzeichnis und -register." Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 260-7.

Jerusalem, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York City, the OREL Foundation in Southern California, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, all work to promote Holocaust research. Many of the publications concerning Viktor Ullmann and his compositions are written in languages other than English, primarily German. There are several important researchers and publications for Ullmann's Theresienstadt works. Ingo Schultz's 2008 publication, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk* (Viktor Ullmann: Life and Work) is considered the definitive biography of Ullmann. Schultz also has contributed several articles and published conference papers on Ullmann's compositions. Hans-Günter Klein's notable contribution as the editor of several colloquia publications on Ullmann has added to the available scholarship. In English, Gwyneth Rachel Bravo's dissertation, "Staging Death: Allegory in the Operas of Erwin Schulhoff and Viktor Ullmann," along with her biographical article on Ullmann for the OREL Foundation, make significant contributions to Ullmann research. Rachel Elizabeth Bergman has two published articles concerning Ullmann compositions: "Creativity in Captivity: Viktor Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*" and "Set on Notes: Palindromes and Other Symmetry in the Music of Viktor Ullmann."

There are discrepancies in the published literature on Ullmann and Theresienstadt as new information through primary sources has become available. Recent accessibility to Ullmann's Theresienstadt letters, writings, and manuscripts along with other Theresienstadt documents have brought new information to light. In some cases, information in publications earlier than 2008 has proven to be inaccurate.

There are a few professional recordings of the works discussed in this guide, but they are not all readily available.<sup>10</sup> Research has been compiled and published on Ullmann's piano and chamber works and some of his compositions for high voice, but not on the works performable by mezzo-soprano that will be explored in this guide. Research has been published on the opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, and therefore "Arie des Trommlers." Prior research focuses on the aria from a strictly music theory and social commentary perspective. Guidance for the practical performance of this aria, specifically in recital, competitions, and auditions, is addressed in chapter 4. This guide also provides singers with the resources necessary for the successful performance of these works, including International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) transcriptions and English translations.<sup>11</sup>

#### Issues of *Fach* and Printed Scores

All of the pieces presented in this guide were either composed specifically for or are performable by mezzo-sopranos. "Herbst" and the song cycle *Drei jiddische Lieder* are labeled as works for soprano in the table *Systematisches Werkverzeichnis und -register* (Systematic Catalog of Works and Index) in Schultz's *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*.<sup>12</sup> Nothing in the manuscripts indicates that Ullmann intended a certain *Fach* for these works, and all of these pieces are appropriate for mezzo-soprano. Ullmann occasionally assigned a *Fach* to his vocal works; *Immer inmitten* is labeled as "Solo-

---

<sup>10</sup> For a list of applicable recordings, please consult the bibliography.

<sup>11</sup> These resources are available in appendices I and II.

<sup>12</sup> Schultz. *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 262.

Kantate nach Gedichten von Hans Günther Adler für Mezzosopran und Klavier” (solo cantata with poetry by Hans Günther Adler for mezzo-soprano and piano).<sup>13</sup> At the end of the manuscript for the first piece of *Lieder der Tröstung*, Ullmann designated “Tote wollen nicht verweilen” (The dead do not wish to linger) as “Lieder der Tröstung I für tiefere Stimme und Streichtrio” (Songs of Consolation I for lower voice and string trio).<sup>14</sup>

All of Ullmann’s songs are published in Schott’s 2004 *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier* (Ullmann: Complete Songs for Voice and Piano). The foreword of the Schott score states, “In a few individual cases the editors have added an indication for the voice part in order to facilitate a swift orientation. The Editorial Commentary also provides Ullmann’s original indications.”<sup>15</sup> The Schott editors do not designate a voice part that is not indicated in the manuscripts for the pieces covered in this guide. The pieces for voice and string trio are published in Schott’s 2005 score *Ullmann: Drei Lieder für Singstimme und Streichtrio* (Ullmann: Three Songs for Voice and String Trio) and are also included in Schott’s *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier* with a piano reduction of the string parts. “Arie des Trommlers” is published in Schott’s 1993 vocal score of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49.

---

<sup>13</sup> Viktor Ullmann, *Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, edited by Axel and Christian Hoesch (New York: Schott, 2004), 181.

<sup>14</sup> Viktor Ullmann, *Lieder der Tröstung*, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>15</sup> Ullmann, *Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, ix.



## Methodology

In the compilation of this guide, I carried out primary source research at the Deutsches Literaturarchiv (German Literature Archive) in Marbach am Neckar, Germany; the Ghetto Museum in Terezín, Czech Republic; the Jewish Museum in Prague, Czech Republic; King's College London Archives in London, England; and the Paul Sacher Foundation in Basel, Switzerland. To facilitate the analysis of these compositions, I use a modified version of the model created by Carol Kimball in *Song: A Guide to Art Song Style and Literature* as the analytical framework for this guide. In addition to Kimball's model, I discuss biographical information on the poet or librettist for each work and address the level of difficulty of each piece.

### *Format According to the Kimball Model*

This guide follows the format presented in Kimball's *Song: A Guide to Art Song Style and Literature* as a summary tool of analysis. The items listed below are only referenced when applicable to the piece in question.

#### Melody

- Melodic Contour/Phrase Shape

- Motives

#### Vocal Articulation

- Recitative

- Lyric Melody

- Text Painting

#### Harmony

- Harmonic Texture

- Tonality

- Text Illustration through Harmonic Means

#### Rhythm

- Tempo

- Rhythmic Patterns

- Rhythms that Reinforce the Text

#### Accompaniment

- Predominant Accompaniment Figures

Shared Material with the Voice  
 Use of Motives  
 Text Illustrations in Patterns  
 Accompaniment Texture  
 Poets and Texts  
 Secondary Factors of Style  
 Components of Style Overlap<sup>16</sup>

In *Song: A Guide to Art Song Style and Literature*, Kimball offers a reminder for the analysis of vocal repertoire, “It is simpler to study [notes] on the page than to isolate them in the performance of a song, for it is in performance that they blend into a unified whole to become the artistic experience.”<sup>17</sup> Ullmann’s works are much more powerful in performance after they have been studied, and only then will his music rise above the horror of the conditions in which they were composed. Musicologist Philip V. Bohlman explores Jewish modernism through Ullmann’s compositions, “not [as] the result of the generally held assertion that he was the most successful of the Theresienstadt composers, but rather that his compositions in the concentration camps and during the Holocaust concentrated the conditions of transcendence through Jewish music in particularly trenchant way.”<sup>18</sup> Ullmann’s Theresienstadt compositions should not be defined by their compositional circumstances.

The four remaining chapters and three appendices appearing in this guide put forth necessary information for the successful performance of these works. Chapter 2 contains the biography of Ullmann, before and after his deportation to Theresienstadt.

---

<sup>16</sup> Carol Kimball, *Song: A Guide to Art Song Style and Literature*, revised ed. (Milwaukee: Hal Leonard, 2005), 3-21.

<sup>17</sup> Kimball, *Song: A Guide to Art Song Style and Literature*, 21.

<sup>18</sup> Philip V. Bohlman, “Epilogue: Beyond Jewish Modernism,” in *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*, 153-77, foreword by Sander L. Gilman (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 169.

Also discussed are his compositional style and approach to vocal music. Chapter 3 covers works composed for voice with piano accompaniment: *Drei jiddische Lieder* (*Březulinka*), op. 53; *Drei chinesische Lieder*; and *Immer inmitten*. Chapter 4 contains a discussion of the works composed for voice and string trio or orchestral accompaniment: *Lieder der Tröstung*, “Herbst,” and the mezzo-soprano aria “Arie des Trommlers” from *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49. Both chapters 3 and 4 discuss the song cycles as a unit before analyzing each piece in detail. Chapter 4 discusses the libretto of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, including Ullmann’s collaboration with fellow Theresienstadt prisoner Peter Kien. In addition, chapter 4 deconstructs the repetition of motives and relevant political and social themes presented in the opera. Appendix I contains the texts, IPA transcriptions, and translations for all eleven pieces studied in this guide; appendix II provides translations for related poems and song texts. For ease in programming, appendix III lists works that pair well with the Ullmann compositions discussed in this guide.

## CHAPTER TWO

### The Early Years

Each bird sings in his own way, as it is said in the poem by Claudius.<sup>19</sup>  
-Viktor Ullmann

In the Moravian-Polish border town of Těšín (Teschen), Viktor Ullmann was born on January 1, 1898, to Jewish parents who converted to Roman Catholicism before his birth. At the time, Těšín was part of the expansive Austro-Hungarian Empire. Ullmann's father, Maximilian Georg Ullmann (1861-1938), was an officer in the Hapsburg army and converted the family in order to be promoted in rank.<sup>20</sup> Ullmann was of noble Viennese high-bourgeoisie birth through his mother, Malwine Marie Bilizter Ullmann (1873-1940). Through his father, Viktor held the title of Baron von Tannfels, but he did not use this title for the promotion of his career, nor at any point during his private life.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> "Ein jeder Vogel singt seine eigne Weise, wie es in dem Gedichte von Claudius heisst." This line is from an August 1938 letter from Ullmann to Dr. Karl Reiner in which Ullmann discusses his compositional style. This section of the letter is discussed later in this chapter. The poem that is referenced was penned by Matthias Claudius (1740-1815). The original poem, titled "Kuckuck" (Cuckoo), reads: "Wir Vögel singen nicht egal, Der singet laut; der andre leise, Kauz nicht wie ich, ich nicht wie Nachtigall, Ein jeder hat so seine Weise." (We birds do not all sing the same. One sings loudly, the other softly. The owl does not sing like me, I do not sing like the nightingale. Each one has his own way of singing.) Claudius's texts were set by many composers, including Franz Schubert and Anton Webern. Gwyneth Rachel Bravo, "Staging Death: Allegory in the Operas of Erwin Schulhoff and Viktor Ullmann" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2011), 298-300; Matthias Claudius, *Sämtliche Werke* (Zürich: Buchclub Ex Libris, 1969), 16.

<sup>20</sup> At the time of Maximilian's military career, officers in the Hapsburg army were forbidden from practicing Judaism. Gwyneth Bravo, "Viktor Ullmann," *OREL Foundation*, [http://orelfoundation.org/index.php/composers/article/viktor\\_ullmann/](http://orelfoundation.org/index.php/composers/article/viktor_ullmann/) (accessed August 18, 2012); Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín: 1941-1945* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1985), 111.

<sup>21</sup> Ingo Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk* (Kassel: Bärenreiter 2008), 13-22.

However, Ullmann used the pseudonym Josef Tannfels as the poet of the text for his 1929 song cycle *Sieben Serenaden* (Seven Serenades),<sup>22</sup> and he signed the title Baron von Tannfels on his Theresienstadt work “Little Cakewalk,” composed on September 27, 1943. The inscription reads: “Victoire Ullmann, Baron de Tannfels, Village du Therese avec gratulation” (Victoire Ullmann, Baron of Tannfels, Village of Therese with congratulations).<sup>23</sup> The text of “Little Cakewalk” is quite tongue-in-cheek, and it can be safely assumed that the inscription was written in the same spirit.

The travel associated with his father’s work prompted Ullmann’s mother to move young Viktor to Vienna in 1909 where he attended the Radimofski School in the third district of the city. In Vienna, he studied music theory under Dr. Josef Polnauer, student of Arnold Schoenberg, from 1914 until 1916.<sup>24</sup> Ullmann must have received an excellent education as he was well-versed in history, literature, and philosophy. His later writings and choice of song texts demonstrate his intellectual prowess.<sup>25</sup> Starting in 1914, Ullmann studied piano with Eduard Steuermann and applied himself to theory and composition lessons. Little more is known about Ullmann’s early musical instruction, with the exception of a concert program from 1915 that lists him as the conductor of his school orchestra, where he conducted works by Mozart, Schubert, and Richard Strauss.

---

<sup>22</sup> The *Sieben Serenaden* manuscript, for soprano and twelve instruments, is now lost. Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann Leben und Werk*, 77, 261-2.

<sup>23</sup> Viktor Ullmann, “Little Cakewalk,” September 27, 1943, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>24</sup> James Conlon, dir. *Estranged Passengers: In Search of Viktor Ullmann*, DVD-ROM (Capriccio Records, 2008). Arnold Schoenberg changed the spelling of his name from ‘Schönberg’ to ‘Schoenberg’ when he moved from Austria to the United States in 1933. When the Arnold Schönberg Center moved from Los Angeles to Vienna after Schoenberg’s death, the spelling reverted back to the original German spelling. For the purpose of this guide, the American spelling will be used unless found in official titles.

<sup>25</sup> Bravo, “Viktor Ullmann.”

Additional early musical influences on Ullmann include military music and Roman Catholic masses.<sup>26</sup>

Ullmann graduated from secondary school, without taking the final exam, in May 1916 by using a *Kriegsabitur* (war diploma) and voluntarily enlisting in the Hapsburg military. During World War I, Ullmann fought in the Isonzo Front's twelfth battle, beginning on October 24, 1917.<sup>27</sup> By the end of the war he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. After two years of military service, of which he rarely spoke, Ullmann received a *Tapferkeitsmedaille*, an award for courage, and returned to Vienna after an honorable military discharge following World War I.<sup>28</sup>

### Collegiate Education and Early Career

In May 1918, Ullmann began his studies as a law student at Vienna University, upon the insistence of his parents. Concurrently with his law studies, Ullmann began his course work at Arnold Schoenberg's composition seminar in October 1918, where he studied form and orchestration with Schoenberg, harmony with Polnauer, and counterpoint with Dr. Heinrich Jalowetz. Ullmann continued his piano study with Steuermann.<sup>29</sup> In 1924, a photo album was compiled for the event of Schoenberg's fiftieth birthday. Each folio of the album is dedicated to one student. The verso includes a

---

<sup>26</sup> Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 16.

<sup>27</sup> The Isonzo Front occurred in what is now Slovenia. Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 37.

<sup>28</sup> Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 37.

<sup>29</sup> Koref, Ullmann's first wife, is also featured in Arnold Schoenberg's "Fiftieth-Birthday Album." "Fiftieth-Birthday Album," 1924, Permanent Exhibition, Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna, Austria; Karas, 113; Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 37.

photo of the student, while the recto contains a description, written in each student's hand, of the courses taken. Ullmann's courses are listed as: "Kontrapunkt, Harmonielehre, Formenlehre, Instrumentation, und Analyse" (Counterpoint, Harmony, Form, Instrumentation, and Analysis).<sup>30</sup> Upon the recommendation of Schoenberg, Ullmann became a founding member of the *Verein für Musikalische Privataufführungen* (Association for Private Music Performances) on December 6, 1918, which began as a performance venue and later functioned as a safe environment for student composers to have new works performed.<sup>31</sup> This type of organization must have made a great impression on Ullmann as he was a member of, or created, similar institutions after leaving Vienna.

Martha Koref, Ullmann's composition student colleague, became his wife on May 24, 1919.<sup>32</sup> Three days later, he and Martha moved to Prague, where in the autumn of the following year, he worked under the tutelage of Alexander Zemlinsky. Former teacher and brother-in-law to Schoenberg, Zemlinsky was an established composer and the director of the *Neues deutschen Theater* (New German Theater).<sup>33</sup> It is likely that Schoenberg assisted in Ullmann's appointment to the *Neues deutschen Theater* staff

---

<sup>30</sup> The original album currently is held at the Arnold Schönberg Center. "Fiftieth-Birthday Album," 1924, Permanent Exhibition, Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna, Austria.

<sup>31</sup> Bravo, "Viktor Ullmann."

<sup>32</sup> Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 37.

<sup>33</sup> Prague has a long history of providing a supportive environment for prominent German-speaking creative persons such as Franz Kafka, Franz Werfel, Rainer Maria Rilke, and Gustav Meyrink. Vlasta Benetková, "Die Rückkehr Viktor Ullmanns," in *Musik in Theresienstadt: Die Referate des Kolloquiums in Dresden am 4. Mai 1991 und ergänzende Studien herausgegeben von Heidi Tamar Hoffmann und Hans-Günter Klein* (Berlin: [s.n.], 1991), 73.

through a recommendation to Zemlinsky.<sup>34</sup> Ullmann occasionally substituted for Zemlinsky as conductor and assisted in conducting the *Deutscher Männergesangsverein* (German Male Choral Society) where, for example, Ullmann assisted in the performance of Schoenberg's *Gurre-Lieder* (War Songs). Ullmann became the choral director and repetiteur of the *Neues deutschen Theater* in 1924, where as a vocal coach he was responsible for preparing the soloists and choruses for performances. He is known to have been an accomplished pianist, but Ullmann's training in conducting is unclear.<sup>35</sup> In 1922, Ullmann was promoted to conductor of the theatre, where he served until 1927. In Schoenberg's 1924 fiftieth-birthday album, Ullmann listed his current occupation as "Kapellmeister und Chordirektor aus Deutsches Theater in Prag, Komposition" (Bandmaster and Choral Director of the German Theatre in Prague, Composer).<sup>36</sup>

Simultaneously with his position as director, Ullmann was active as a composer, writing both vocal and instrumental works.<sup>37</sup> Between 1923 and 1925, Ullmann composed pieces such as *Sieben Lieder für Sopran und Klavier* (Seven Songs for Soprano and Piano); String Quartet, op. 1; and *Symphonische Phantasie* (Symphonic Fantasy).<sup>38</sup> He also composed incidental music for the successful Chinese play

---

<sup>34</sup> Karas, 113.

<sup>35</sup> Max Bloch, "Viktor Ullmann: A Brief Biography and Appreciation," *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 3 (1979): 152-3.

<sup>36</sup> "Fiftieth-Birthday Album," 1924, Permanent Exhibition, Arnold Schönberg Foundation, Vienna, Austria.

<sup>37</sup> Bravo, "Viktor Ullmann."

<sup>38</sup> Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 264-5.



*Kreidekreis* (Chalk Circle).<sup>39</sup> Ullmann premiered *Schönberg-Variationen* (Schönberg Variations) for piano in Prague in 1926. This work is based on Schoenberg's 1911 work *Sechs Kleine Klavierstücke* (Six Little Piano Pieces), op. 19, no. 4, which premiered in Prague in 1926. The influence of the Second Viennese School is evident in Ullmann's works. His admiration of composer Alban Berg (1885-1935) began in Prague when Ullmann attended the premiere of *Wozzeck* at the Czech National Theatre in 1926.<sup>40</sup>

For the 1927 opera season, Ullmann obtained the position of conductor at the opera house in Aussig, now known as Ústí nad Labem, due in part to the success of *Kreidekreis*. In Aussig, he conducted such notable works as *Ariadne auf Naxos*, *Johnny Spielt Auf*, *Le nozze di Figaro*, and *Tristan und Isolde*. He was able to choose his own programming and even premiered seven new works while in this position. Mysteriously and despite his seeming success in Aussig, Ullmann moved back to Prague without a conducting post, working instead as a freelance composer, a private instructor, a reviewer for the German magazine *Der Auftakt* (The Up-Beat), and as a partner with Czechoslovak Radio.<sup>41</sup> He wrote several articles for *Der Auftakt*, one of particular interest on the voice, discussed later in this chapter.<sup>42</sup> Through various avenues of employment, Ullmann pieced together a living using his skills as a composer and writer. In 1928, after returning

---

<sup>39</sup> The text for *Kreidekreis* was translated from the original Chinese by Alfred Henschke (1890-1928) who wrote under the pseudonym Klabund. Ullmann also chose Klabund translations for his 1943 cycle, *Drei chinesische Lieder*, discussed in chapter 3. Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 241.

<sup>40</sup> Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 81.

<sup>41</sup> Bravo, "Viktor Ullmann"; Karas, 113.

<sup>42</sup> Ullmann wrote an article on the invention of the saxophone and its use in contemporary music in a 1929 edition of *Der Auftakt*. In the same issue, Dr. Theodor Veidle of Prague wrote an article on Ullmann. Theodor Veidle, "Viktor Ullmann, der Lineare," *Der Auftakt* 9, no. 3 (1929): 77-8.

to Prague, he began composing his first opera, *Peer Gynt*, based on the work of Henrik Ibsen. The opera was never finished and the score has since been lost. During this time and until the first year of Nazi occupation, Ullmann organized private concerts where new works were presented and discussed. This type of gathering gained ever-increasing importance because of the tightening restrictions being placed on Jewish populations.<sup>43</sup> The following year brought Ullmann international attention with the performance of the second version of his *Schönberg-Variationen*, op. 3b, performed by pianist Franz Langer at the *Musikfest der Internationalen Gesellschaft für neue Musik* (Music Festival of the International Society for New Music or IGNM-Fest) in Geneva, Switzerland.

Between 1929 and 1931, Ullmann worked in Zürich as the composer and chorus master for the *Zürich Schauspielhaus* (Zurich Playhouse) while simultaneously going through a period of intellectual turmoil and curiosity during which he delved into psychoanalysis and several other ideologies, including those of *I-Ching* and the Freemasons.<sup>44</sup> The philosophy with the most appeal to Ullmann was the anthroposophy of Rudolf Steiner, an Austrian philosopher and scientist working at the turn of the twentieth century. Ullmann was reintroduced to anthroposophy at the Goetheanum in Dornach, Switzerland, after an initial rejection of the philosophy in 1919.<sup>45</sup>

Anthroposophy is defined by Steiner as the “wisdom of the human being.”<sup>46</sup> It was

---

<sup>43</sup> Karas, 114.

<sup>44</sup> J.Y. Lee, “Some Reflections on the Authorship of the *I Ching*,” *Numen* 17 (December 1970): 200.

<sup>45</sup> The Goetheanum is the international headquarters for the anthroposophical movement founded by Steiner. Bravo, “Viktor Ullmann.”

<sup>46</sup> “Anthroposophy,” *Goetheanum*, <http://www.goetheanum.org/Anthroposophy.anthroposophie.0.html?&L=1> (accessed March 11, 2013).

developed through Steiner's exploration of Goetheanism, German idealist philosophy, esoteric Christianity, Rosicrucianism, and the theosophical tradition.<sup>47</sup> Essentially, anthroposophy is an occult philosophy in which the universe is revealed within mankind, and Steiner believed that the great question confronting mankind was that of evolving spirituality.

Ullmann joined the Anthroposophical Society in 1931 and periodically turned away from composing and music-related employment to manage and later own an anthroposophical bookshop, *Novalis-Bücherstube* (Novalis Bookshop), in Stuttgart, Germany, from 1931-33. In a letter to Albert Steffen dated September 16, 1935, Ullmann wrote, "Im Jahre 1931 trat ich der [Anthroposophischen] Gesellschaft bei, beschloß aber gleichzeitig, die Musik zurückzustellen und mich der Ausbreitung anthroposophischer Ideen zu widmen" (In 1931, I joined the [Anthroposophical] Society and decided, at the same time to put music behind me and dedicate myself to the furtherance/propagation of anthroposophical ideas).<sup>48</sup> However, Ullmann's venture into this entrepreneurial endeavor was unsuccessful as he lacked experience in bookkeeping and accounting and was not made aware of the poor financial state of the bookshop before he acquired it.<sup>49</sup> In the same September 16<sup>th</sup> letter to Steffen, Ullmann admitted his failure in managing the

---

<sup>47</sup> Rosicrucianism is a movement of esoteric wisdom from early seventeenth-century Protestant Germany. Theosophy pertains to any philosophical mysticism that has a mathematic or scientific basis. *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, s.v. "Theosophy," <http://www.credoreference.com/entry/cupdphil/theosophy> (accessed March 16, 2013); Bravo, "Viktor Ullmann"; *The Encyclopaedia of the Renaissance*, s.v. "Rosicrucianism," <http://www.credoreference.com/entry/mheren/rosicrucianism> (accessed March 16, 2013).

<sup>48</sup> In the chapter "Harmonizing Self and History at the 'Nullpunkt': Political and Cosmic Counterpoints in Viktor Ullmann's Opera *Der Sturz des Antichrist*," Bravo details Ullmann's anthroposophical journey. Bravo, "Staging Death," 292-4.

<sup>49</sup> Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 137-8.

bookshop.<sup>50</sup> Personally, his marriage to Martha dissolved and their divorce was finalized on April 16, 1931; they had no children. Soon after, on September 8, 1931, Ullmann married Annie (Anna) Winternitz who was nine years his junior. Their first child, Maximilian, was born in July 1932.<sup>51</sup>

In 1933 everything changed for Europeans as the Third Reich came to power in Germany with Adolf Hitler's election as Chancellor. Ullmann returned to Prague from Stuttgart, not due to Germany's National Socialism, but because of his debts from the failed bookshop. In Prague, Ullmann worked as a freelance composer, wrote music articles and reviews, and gave music lessons. However, he found it difficult to find full-time employment.<sup>52</sup> A music student of Ullmann from 1933 to 1938, Max Bloch, described Ullmann as a "modest man who knew how to hide the complexities of his life and character behind a cheerful façade," and as "a man of medium build, calm and friendly, with dark hair which, by standards of the period, was rather long. He had a prominent nose, but the most striking feature of his face was his dark and fiery eyes."<sup>53</sup> While in Prague, Ullmann met pianist Alice Herz-Sommer and dedicated his 1941 Piano Sonata, no. 4 to her. They met again in Theresienstadt. In an interview for *Estranged Passengers: In Search of Viktor Ullmann*, she said of him:

He was a man who was very, very quiet. Rather shy, I would say; a shy person, an extremely shy person. His father was a military officer. He inherited that from his father. Because when he met women, when he was introduced to a woman, to a

---

<sup>50</sup> Bravo, "Staging Death," 161.

<sup>51</sup> Bloch, "Viktor Ullmann: A Brief Biography and Appreciation," 155-6; Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 9-10.

<sup>52</sup> Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 170.

<sup>53</sup> Bloch, "Viktor Ullmann: A Brief Biography and Appreciation," 151.

lady, he always kissed her hand, which is something no one does today. And he was very polite and *very* good looking. He had a lovely face and he had such an excellent education in every field. [He was] incredibly well-educated, which is rather rare for a musician.<sup>54</sup>

Bloch's and Herz-Sommer's recollections of Ullmann give an impression of his countenance, intellect, and quiet charm. Both Bloch and Herz-Sommer give supporting personal accounts of Ullmann's physical presence and demeanor, of his calm and quiet façade. Contrary to appearances, Ullmann received psychiatric treatment for mental and physical episodes starting in the summer of 1937. He declared himself cured after a third treatment was complete in May 1938.<sup>55</sup>

Ullmann received international recognition when he was awarded the 1934 Hertzka Prize from the Emil Hertzka Foundation for the orchestral version of his *Schönberg-Variationen*, op. 3b.<sup>56</sup> From 1935 to 1937, he studied the quarter-tone techniques of Alois Hába at the Prague Conservatory; Hába was heavily involved in the IGNM.<sup>57</sup> Ullmann composed only one work using quarter-tone techniques—*Sonate für viertelton Klarinette und viertelton Klavier*, op. 16 (Sonata for Quarter-tone Clarinet and Quarter-tone Piano), his final exam submission.<sup>58</sup> While at the Prague Conservatory,

---

<sup>54</sup> Herz-Sommer's interview was conducted in German and overdubbed in English. Conlon, *Estranged Passengers: In Search of Viktor Ullmann*.

<sup>55</sup> Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 170.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

<sup>57</sup> Hába (1893-1973) was a Czech composer, theorist, and teacher. He is regarded as the developer of quarter- and sixth-tones in Western art music. Hába was also a follower of Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophic movement. Karas, 117; Vlasta Reittererová, "The Hába 'School'," *Czech Music* (2005): 10.

<sup>58</sup> Only the clarinet part for op. 16 survives. Bravo, "Viktor Ullmann"; Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 266-7.

Ullman composed *Der Sturz des Antichrist* (The Downfall of the Antichrist), op. 9, a full-length opera with nine soloists, a chorus, and expanded orchestra. The libretto is from a play of the same name by Steffen, a fellow follower of Steiner's anthroposophic philosophies.<sup>59</sup> The opera was not performed during Ullmann's lifetime because of its anti-totalitarian themes of good versus evil, which made it problematic for performance. There were failed negotiations for the opera's performance at the Vienna Opera in 1935 and Prague's Czech National Theatre in 1937. *Der Sturz des Antichrist*, op. 9, won Ullmann the 1936 Hertzka Prize with Czech cultural leaders such as Zemlinsky, Ernst Krenek, Egon Wellesz, Karl Rankl, and Lothar Wallerstein serving as adjudicators.<sup>60</sup> After traveling to London for the performance of his Second String Quartet, op. 7, by the Kolisch Quartet at the 1938 IGNM-Fest, Ullmann returned to and remained in Dornach for two months, as long as his visa would allow. While in Dornach, an all-Ullmann concert was given at the Goetheanum on August 5, 1938. After the two-month period in Dornach, he had no choice but to return to Prague.<sup>61</sup>

### **Prelude to Deportation**

The year 1939 brought Czechoslovakia under Nazi rule through the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and the implementation of the Nuremberg

---

<sup>59</sup> In *Der Sturz des Antichrist*, op. 9, only the character of the Artist remains uncorrupted. Michael Wiener, "Legal Notions in Viktor Ullmann's Last Piano Sonata," *MultiMania*, <http://mitglied.lycos.de/mwiener/ullmann/eaufsaetze.html> (accessed October 8, 2013).

<sup>60</sup> For more information on *Der Sturz des Antichrist*, op. 9, please see the chapter, "Harmonizing Self and History at the 'Nullpunkt': Political and Cosmic Counterpoint in Viktor Ullmann's Opera *Der Sturz des Antichrist*," in Bravo, "Staging Death."

<sup>61</sup> Karas, 114; Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 175.

Laws. With the Nazi invasion and fall of Poland in September 1939, the Third Reich was able to proceed with plans to remove Jewish populations from occupied territories, but not before making the everyday lives of those of Jewish heritage extremely difficult. First, the Jewish populations were required to relinquish all radios, followed by the forfeiture of items such as furs, cameras, typewriters, skis, phonographs, musical instruments, and even house pets.<sup>62</sup> Ullmann, and other Jewish musicians like him, were then unable to hold employment, perform, or have their compositions performed. However, underground concerts were given in private homes and often involved the audience spending the night because of governmentally imposed curfews. An invitation from one of these programs, dated Sunday, March 3, 1940, lists five Ullmann works that were to be performed with Ullmann playing piano. During this time Ullmann composed his Third and Fourth Piano Sonatas; the one-act opera *Der zerbrochene Krug* (The Broken Jug), op. 36; and various song cycles.<sup>63</sup>

Because of the difficult conditions under which he and his family were forced to live, Ullmann attempted to procure emigration visas for his family, now consisting of Annie and their children Maximilian, Johannes, and Felicia. Ullmann began making a concerted effort to have his family leave Prague during his 1939 IGNM-Fest trip to London.<sup>64</sup> He corresponded with Steffen in Switzerland and wrote three letters to a former fellow-Schoenberg student and friend, Josef Trávníček-Trauneck, in South

---

<sup>62</sup> Karas, 3.

<sup>63</sup> Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 260-7.

<sup>64</sup> Ullmann's father died March 20, 1938. Bravo, "Staging Death," 190; Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 9.

Africa. In Ullmann's letter to Trávníček-Trauneck dated February 24, 1939, Ullmann called the Nazi controlled Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, "Nun gibt es keine Bohemia mehr..." (No more Bohemia...).<sup>65</sup> He also explained that he was having difficulty securing sufficient employment as he could no longer work for the journal *Das Montagsblatt* (Monday's Page) as an editor or for public radio. Earning a living was difficult, with all but two of his private composition students cancelling. However, Ullmann continued to compose and managed to privately publish many of his pre-Theresienstadt compositions.<sup>66</sup> He was allowed to continue lecturing for the Society for Music Education, but this did not provide the financial means necessary to raise a family. Ullmann told Trávníček-Trauneck that he had even applied to the United States for work and begged for any leads on work in South Africa.<sup>67</sup> He was advised, by both Steffen and Trávníček-Trauneck, to stay in Prague.

In late-1939 after having exhausted all possibilities of acquiring emigration visas, Ullmann and Annie sent Johannes, age five, and Felicia, age two, to England by way of Sweden on a *Kindertransport* (children's transport) through the British Committee for Children in Prague. Johannes was sent to an orphanage, and Felicia was placed in foster care. Both later suffered from debilitating mental illness and, into the twenty-first

---

<sup>65</sup> John Paul Healey, "The Solo Piano Music of Viktor Ullmann: from Prague to the Holocaust - A Performer's Guide to the Complete Piano Sonatas and Variations" (DMA diss., University of Cincinnati, 2001), 35.

<sup>66</sup> For a full list of Ullmann's compositions, including dates, dedications, and publisher, please see Ingo Schultz's "Systematisches Werkverzeichnis und – register" in *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*. Karas, 208; Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 260-7.

<sup>67</sup> The Society for Music Education began in 1933. Bravo, "Staging Death," 190; Healey, "The Solo Piano Music of Viktor Ullmann," 35-6.



century, resided in adult group homes in England.<sup>68</sup> Ullmann's efforts to leave Prague demonstrate his distrust of the Third Reich's promises to give fair treatment to Hapsburg Army World War I veterans in regard both to work and freedom from transports to the east.<sup>69</sup>

A troubled and undoubtedly stressed marital relationship led to Ullmann and Annie's divorce in August of 1941, following the birth of their fourth child, Paul, on November 21, 1940.<sup>70</sup> Being Jewish and unmarried put Ullmann at high risk for deportation. He married Elisabeth Frank-Meissl on October 15, 1941, in an effort to avoid a massive deportation to the Lodz ghetto. Despite his efforts, Ullmann was ordered to report for a Lodz ghetto transport. The Office of Jewish Community Affairs in Prague intervened on his behalf and provided him with an identification card in order to temporarily prevent him from being sent on one of the Lodz transports.<sup>71</sup>

On October 17, 1941, the Third Reich gave an order to evacuate all Protectorate citizens from Theresienstadt. The town was to temporarily hold fifty to sixty thousand Jews who would then be deported east. After Theresienstadt was emptied the town would become transformed into an Aryan town, full of Aryan life.<sup>72</sup> Ullmann was fully aware of

---

<sup>68</sup> Conlon, *Estranged Passengers: In Search of Viktor Ullmann*.

<sup>69</sup> Karas, 115.

<sup>70</sup> Healey, "The Solo Piano Music of Viktor Ullmann," 37; Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 249.

<sup>71</sup> Karas, 115.

<sup>72</sup> Aaron Kramer, ed. and trans. *The Last Lullaby: Poetry from the Holocaust* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1998), 3.

the immediacy and looming cataclysm of his situation as evident in a letter to Hába dated October 18, 1941:

Vor meiner Abreise ins Ungewisse will ich Dir eine letzte Bitte ans Herz legen. Ich habe das Vertrauen, daß Du sie nicht um meinet Willen sondern der Sache willen – erfüllen wirst. In den nächsten Tagen wird Dir Alexander Waulin die Handschrift meiner Partitur „Der Sturz des Antichrist“ überbringen. Dieses Partitur ist Eigentum der Sektion für musische und redende Künste am Goetheanum in Dornach, Schweiz. [...] Ich bitte Dich, diese meine Bitte im Sinne einer letztwilligen Verfügung zu betrachten und zu erfüllen. Indem ich Dir von Herzen alles Gute für Deine Arbeit und Deine Lebensziele wünsche, bleib ich mit herzlichsten Grüßen, Dein alte Freund, V.U.

(Before my journey into the unknown, I have a final request to place on your heart. I trust that you will fulfill this request, not for my sake but for the issues sake. In the next days, the conductor Alexander Waulin will bring the manuscript of my score *The Fall of the Antichrist* over to you. The score is the property of the Section for Music and Speech at the Goetheanum in Dornach, Switzerland. [...] I ask of you that you regard my request in the manner of a final will and testimony [*sic*] and fulfill it accordingly. With all my heart, I wish you the best for your work and your goals and remain cordially, your old friend, V.U.)<sup>73</sup>

Ullmann demonstrated an eerie foreknowledge of what was to come. On September 8, 1942, Ullmann was deported to Theresienstadt. Each prisoner was allowed to take fifty kilograms of luggage. Among his allotment, Ullmann chose to take staff paper.<sup>74</sup>

### **The Theresienstadt Ghetto**

Theresienstadt was founded in 1784 by Austro-Hungarian Emperor Josef II and named in honor of his mother, Empress Maria Theresa, as “Theresa’s Town.”<sup>75</sup> The walls of the garrison town, or “Big Fortress,” are in the shape of an ominous six-sided star with

---

<sup>73</sup> Bravo, “Staging Death,” 303-4.

<sup>74</sup> Conlon, *Estranged Passengers: In Search of Viktor Ullmann*.

<sup>75</sup> Gregory Gilmore, “Musical and Cultural Activities Inside Terezín, 1941-1945,” *Music Research Forum* 11 (1996): 23.

steep angles. The town was designed to house six thousand persons in both private homes and barracks.<sup>76</sup> The straight streets meet each other at right angles and can therefore be easily patrolled.<sup>77</sup> On the other side of the Ohře River, a bridge crosses to the “Small Fortress” that originally was used as a maximum security prison with cells, a firing-squad yard, and gallows. The “Small Fortress” functioned as a military prison even after the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918. One of the most famous prisoners was Gavrilo Princip, who assassinated Archduke Francis Ferdinand d’Este, the event that escalated hostilities in Europe and prompted the Hapsburgs to begin World War I.<sup>78</sup>

Theresienstadt had a threefold use for the Third Reich. First, it functioned as a transit camp that was used as a temporary stop for those on their way to an extermination camp in Eastern Europe; second, the town was a ghetto-labor camp; and third, it was used as a prison. Those held there constantly faced death as Theresienstadt ran rampant with malnutrition and disease. The Third Reich described Theresienstadt variously as Spa Terezín, the Model Jewish Ghetto, the Reich’s Old Age Home, the District for Jewish Settlement, and a Jewish Self-Government. The first transport of 342 young men arrived in Theresienstadt on November 24, 1941.<sup>79</sup> Many of these young men were volunteers who were falsely promised weekend trips home, but instead were charged with preparing

---

<sup>76</sup> Karas, 2.

<sup>77</sup> Zdenek Lederer, *Ghetto Theresienstadt* (New York: Howard Fertig), 3.

<sup>78</sup> Karas, 2.

<sup>79</sup> Lederer, 14.

the ghetto for those who were to come. Under the guise of the *Aufbaucommando* (construction unit), these young men became Theresienstadt's first prisoners.<sup>80</sup>

### Life in the Ghetto

Theresienstadt's prisoners were some of the foremost artists, poets, musicians, composers, actors, and scholars of Europe. The ghetto quickly became a ruse, as the reputation of many imprisoned there was too great for these individuals to simply disappear. Instead, Theresienstadt confined these individuals, even for years, before they were to be deported to a death camp. This Model Jewish Ghetto was used to support the propaganda cover-up that the Nazis were fairly treating those who were forcibly moved to ghettos. Theresienstadt was described by prisoner Henry A. Oertelt as "a two-faced concentration camp. It was a masterpiece of deception."<sup>81</sup> A Jewish Board of Elders was established by the Nazis to handle the issues associated with food distribution, sanitation, cultural activities, care of the elderly and children, and even deportation lists. Starting in 1943, the Third Reich began "an illusion of autonomy," as stated by Theresienstadt scholar and survivor, Zdenek Lederer.<sup>82</sup> Lederer provides an insider's perspective on the institution that was Theresienstadt:

Theresienstadt was a compulsory, and not an organic community; its structure was therefore haphazard and burdened by many unproductive individuals, such as the aged, the infirmed, and the children. This, as well as the shortage of man-

---

<sup>80</sup> Three years later, in September of 1944, Theresienstadt's crematorium was complete. Karas, 9-10; Lederer, 49.

<sup>81</sup> Henry A. Oertelt, *An Unbroken Chain: My Journey through the Nazi Holocaust* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Company, 2000), 60.

<sup>82</sup> Lederer, 54.

power and German interference, aggravated the difficulties which the Jewish Administration had to contend with. Anti-social elements had to be restrained, work and food had to be fairly distributed, and housing and sanitary conditions had to be improved.<sup>83</sup>

As implied by Lederer's statement, frustrations ran high with resources being in short supply.

Printed currency gave the ghetto a sense of legitimacy despite the fact that it was completely worthless. Shops were put in place, but were used only to support the ruse. These shops sold items from confiscated luggage, and prisoners often ended up purchasing their previously seized belongings. The bookshop evolved into the lending library with books confiscated from Jewish homes. To further the deception, Czech police officers or gendarmes handled issues of law and order so that there would not be a Nazi presence in Theresienstadt.<sup>84</sup> The cruelty of Theresienstadt, like other ghettos and concentration camps, was that prisoners could not go home after they had served their time as they were charged with being Jewish and the sentence was death.<sup>85</sup>

In the beginning of the Theresienstadt ghetto, *Kameradschaftsabends* (evenings of fellowship) were allowed, supposedly to keep the prisoners from revolting.<sup>86</sup> Cultural activities were encouraged only after the Nazis discovered that such activities could reinforce the idea that Theresienstadt was a place of fair and humane treatment. The presence of cultural life was promoted as part of the Theresienstadt deception as this

---

<sup>83</sup> Lederer, 58.

<sup>84</sup> United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, s.v. "Theresienstadt," *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005424> (accessed November 3, 2011); Lederer, 52-3.

<sup>85</sup> Lederer, 85.

<sup>86</sup> Karas, 14.

ghetto was the site of the Danish and Swedish Red Cross inspection in June 1944. The neutral governments of both Denmark and Sweden, along with the King of Denmark, the Bishop of Copenhagen, the chancellors of Danish Universities, and leading Danes requested to see first-hand if the Jewish populations from these two countries were being treated humanely.<sup>87</sup> Theresienstadt was “beautified” and deportations were accelerated to decrease the crowding as prisoners had been forced to live tucked into every available space in the barracks. This façade helped to hide the fact that the Theresienstadt ghetto had an average population of 35,000.<sup>88</sup> Additionally, artists and musicians were generally given lighter-weight and lower-risk jobs in order for them to be able to carry out their creative work. In the beginning, musical instruments were not allowed, but as the Nazis realized that the promotion of cultural activities was beneficial for the completion of their end goals, this policy changed.

The *Freizeitgestaltung* (Administration of Leisure Activities), overseen by the Jewish Self-Administration, was approved by the Nazis for the organization of varied and diverse cultural activities. Amazingly, Ullmann composed twenty-three works during the short twenty-five months he was imprisoned in Theresienstadt. He composed piano sonatas, a string quartet, choral music, song cycles, and an opera, in addition to arrangements of Hebrew and Yiddish songs. Other positions occupied by Ullmann with the *Freizeitgestaltung* were that of pianist, conductor, music critic, lecturer, and director of the *Studio für neue Musik* (Studio for New Music). As the director of this organization,

---

<sup>87</sup> Lederer, 100.

<sup>88</sup> When Ullmann arrived in Theresienstadt, it had a population of around 56,717 according to an official census. Healey, “The Solo Piano Music of Viktor Ullmann,” 49; Kramer, 4; Lederer, 2.

Ullmann presented recitals, for which two program posters survive. One of these programs featured music of composers exclusive to Theresienstadt. Twenty-six of Ullmann's critical reviews of Theresienstadt performances have survived and help to document the astounding amount of cultural life extant in the ghetto.<sup>89</sup>

It is possible that Theresienstadt was the most unrestricted place under the Third Reich's censorship because there were no limitations on what works could be performed or on who could perform the works.<sup>90</sup> Self-censorship existed among composers, poets, artists, and the Jewish Self-Administration, nevertheless, the freedom of performance was still profound, and to a certain extent, Theresienstadt was a microcosm of musical freedom in the midst of the Nazi prohibition of so-called 'degenerate' music.<sup>91</sup> A letter dated June 1, 1943, and written by Ullmann to Dr. Otto Zucker, organizer of the *Freizeitgestaltung*, captures Ullmann's frustrations and cynicism: "Der Weg meiner Werke nach Genf, London, New York u.s.w war kürzer als der von der Genie—in die Magdeburger Kaserne [Theresienstadts]." (My works had a shorter distance to cover to reach Geneva, London, New York, etc. than between the Genie and the Magdeburg barracks [within Theresienstadt].)<sup>92</sup> It may be that Ullmann saw his position in the ghetto

---

<sup>89</sup> Viktor Ullmann, *26 Kritiken über Musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt*, vol. 3 of *Verdrängte Musik—NS-verfolgte Komponisten und ihre Werke* (Neumünster, Germany: von Bockel Verlag, 2011), 51-106. English translations of Ullmann's critical reviews are available in Healey's, "The Solo Piano Music of Viktor Ullmann: from Prague to the Holocaust—A Performer's Guide to the Complete Piano Sonatas and Variations."

<sup>90</sup> Lederer, 125.

<sup>91</sup> Censorship in Theresienstadt is discussed further in chapter 4. The *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* (Encyclopedia of Jews in Music), first published in 1940, defined degenerate music for members of the Third Reich. Bravo, "Staging Death," 242; Lewis Stevens, *Composers of Classical Music of Jewish Descent* (Portland: Vallentine Mitchell, 2003), 337.

<sup>92</sup> Viktor Ullmann, *Drei Lieder für Singstimme und Streichtrio* (New York: Schott, 2005), foreword.

as a composer calling for moral resistance against National Socialism, and he was frustrated by the lack of support he garnered from the *Freizeitgestaltung*.<sup>93</sup>

Eleven short days after the International Red Cross visit, a propaganda film was produced. This so-called “documentary,” *Der Führer Schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* (Hitler Presents a City to the Jews), was finished on March 28, 1945.<sup>94</sup> The film was completed so close to the end of the war that it was presented to only a handful of foreign visitors to the camp. Music was highlighted in the film and featured music of Jewish composers such as Mendelssohn, Bruch, Offenbach, Hans Krása, and Pavel Haas. In the film, a chorus performs a section of Mendelssohn’s *Elijah* and ends with the finale to Krása children’s opera, *Brundibár*. After the filming was complete, many of the musicians who had been protected for their talents were no longer useful to the Third Reich’s charade and were deported east.<sup>95</sup>

### Composing in Theresienstadt

Ullmann came into his own as a composer during his two years in Theresienstadt. His previous compositional training and concentrated musical activities allowed him to develop his mature style. Twenty of Ullmann’s compositions have survived Theresienstadt, making his manuscripts more available than those of any other composer imprisoned there. It appears that he only became interested in his Jewish heritage while in Theresienstadt, in that he arranged works based on Hebrew and Yiddish folk melodies

---

<sup>93</sup> Wiener, “Legal Notions in Viktor Ullmann’s Last Piano Sonata.”

<sup>94</sup> Gilmore, “Musical and Cultural Activities Inside Terezín,” 26-7.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 27.



during his captivity and not before, despite his three marriages to Jewish women.<sup>96</sup> The quantity of Ullmann's compositional output in Theresienstadt is quite remarkable. He began the libretto for a two-act opera, *Der 30. Mai 1431* (The 30<sup>th</sup> of May 1431), which he called "eines Jeanne d'Arc—Drama" (a Joan-of-Arc—drama).<sup>97</sup> Unfortunately, he was unable to begin scoring this work. Ullmann composed cadenzas for each of Beethoven's first four piano concertos and dedicated them to pianist Renée Gärtner-Geiringer. He also created incidental music for the French ballads of poet François Villon, the scores of which are now lost.<sup>98</sup> The most profound work Ullmann composed during his imprisonment is the opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder oder Die Todverweigerung* (The Emperor of Atlantis or Death's Refusal), op. 49.<sup>99</sup> Ullmann's literary legacy, his previously mentioned critical reviews, and a diary written in a poetic format, *Der fremde Passagier* (The Strange Passenger), give testament to the extraordinary impact he had upon the musical life in Theresienstadt.<sup>100</sup>

Many of Ullmann's early songs are lost, and it cannot be definitively determined whether some of his Theresienstadt compositions were actually composed earlier and then rewritten from memory in the ghetto. Many of the manuscripts are neat, fully-thought-out compositions. Ullmann could have either disposed of the sketches for his

---

<sup>96</sup> Karas, 117.

<sup>97</sup> Viktor Ullmann, *Der 30. Mai 1431*, May 16, 1944, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>98</sup> Karas, 119.

<sup>99</sup> *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, is discussed at length in chapter 4.

<sup>100</sup> Karas, 120.

Theresienstadt manuscripts, or transcribed earlier composed works from memory.<sup>101</sup> The lack of manuscript sketches could be attributed to limited resources in the ghetto and the difficulty Ullmann had in securing manuscript paper. He complained about the lack of manuscript paper in his essay “Goethe und Ghetto.”<sup>102</sup> His manuscript sketches could have been used for other paper needs within the ghetto. The sources and themes of the poetry for the pieces discussed in this guide testify that these works are original Theresienstadt compositions.

Ullmann packed all of his documents and manuscripts for his deportation to Auschwitz, but decided at the last minute to entrust them to fellow prisoner Dr. Emil Utitz (1883-1956), former Professor of Philosophy and Aesthetics in Halle, Germany, and Prague University, with the orders that Utitz return them, or in the worst-case scenario, give them to his friend Dr. Hans Günther Adler (1910-1988) after the war.<sup>103</sup> Of course, the worst-case scenario played out. Theresienstadt scholar Joža Karas described the scene in 1944:

On October 17 the train came to a stop at its destination, Auschwitz. The much-feared Dr. Josef Mengele personally supervised the selection on the platform. Alas, damned were all those who happened to wear glasses or who had red hair! In danger also were men past forty years of age. [Ullmann was forty-six.] Upon seeing them, Mengele pointed his ominous finger to the right, from where there was no return. The majority of the newly arrived went from the station platform

---

<sup>101</sup> Viktor Ullmann, *Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, edited by Axel and Christian Hoesch (New York: Schott, 2004), viii.

<sup>102</sup> “...dass man in Theresienstadt nicht Klavier spielen konnte, solange es keine Instrument gab. Auch der empfindliche Mangel an Notenpapier dürfte für kommende Geschlechter uninteressant sein.” (...playing the piano was impossible so long as there were no pianos in Theresienstadt. Also, the severe lack of manuscript paper will be of little interest to future generations.) Bravo, “Staging Death,” 318-21.

<sup>103</sup> Adler was also a prisoner in Theresienstadt and poet for Ullmann’s solo cantata, *Immer inmitten* (Always in the Midst). Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 195-6.

directly into the gas chambers stark naked, after all their belongings had been confiscated.<sup>104</sup>

Ullmann was not the only passenger on this transport who had taken part in the musical life of Theresienstadt.<sup>105</sup> According to the October 16, 1944, transport list, Ullmann was joined by Zucker, Hans Krása, Rafael Schächter, Egon Ledec, Bernard Kaff, and Karel Ančerl. The occupations of these composers were listed as positions of manual labor with the hope that work might save them from what was to come. Ullmann's profession is listed as "Arbeiter" (worker).<sup>106</sup> All but Ančerl went to the gas chambers on October 18, 1944.<sup>107</sup>

Ullmann was able to honor Ullmann's instructions and give the manuscripts to Adler who remained in Prague for approximately two years before emigrating to England. Adler championed the performance of Ullmann's works, but was unsuccessful. British conductor Kerry Woodward edited the manuscript of the opera for its first performance

---

<sup>104</sup> Karas, 164.

<sup>105</sup> All three of Ullmann's wives were deported to Theresienstadt. Martha was later sent on a transport to Treblinka and murdered. Elisabeth was on the same transport to Auschwitz as Ullmann and was also murdered upon arrival. The week following Ullmann's deportation, his second wife, Annie, and son, Max, were deported to Auschwitz and murdered. Ullmann's youngest son, Paul, suffered the fate of many of Theresienstadt's children and died of malnutrition in the ghetto on January 1, 1943. Karas, 164; Hans-Günter Klein, "Viktor Ullmann," in *Musik in Theresienstadt: Die Referate des Kolloquiums in Dresden am 4. Mai 1991 und ergänzende Studien herausgegeben von Heidi Tamar Hoffmann und Hans-Günter Klein* (Berlin: [s.n.], 1991): 63; Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 228, 249.

<sup>106</sup> Ingo Schultz, "Werkverzeichnis und Biographie Viktor Ullmann," in *Viktor Ullmann: Beiträge, Programme, Dokumente, Materialien, Veranstaltungen in der Sommerakademie Johann Sebastian Bach, Stuttgart 1998*, edited by Christian Eisert (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998), 29.

<sup>107</sup> There is some debate among eye-witnesses as to whether right or left meant certain doom or forced labor. Karas, 164.

with an English translation by Aaron Kramer. Ullmann's opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, was premiered on December 16, 1975, in Amsterdam.<sup>108</sup>

The subhuman conditions of Theresienstadt did not stifle the creative spirit of those imprisoned there. Karas said of Ullmann:

Of all the composers unwillingly residing in Terezín, Viktor Ullmann left the deepest mark on the musical activities there. Thanks to his untiring efforts, musical performances had been presented in the ghetto; thanks to his literary abilities we can get some idea of the gamut and artistic standards of the musical offerings there; and above all, thanks to his creative powers, the collection of original compositions which sprang to existence in that concentration camp is richer by twenty works of high artistic quality...<sup>109</sup>

Ullmann overcame the difficulties of living in subhuman conditions and the looming certainty of death to bolster the spirits of those imprisoned with him through his creativity in prose and music.

### **Compositional Style of and Influences on Ullmann**

Ullmann composed works in numerous genres throughout the course of his life. From an early age, he believed in 'art for art's sake' as demonstrated in a letter to Annie Wottitz and dated April 3, 1918: "Aber sie hat sich auch—*wie die Erotik*—gänzlich vom Zweckgedanken gelöst!" (But it [the arts] has also freed itself completely—*like eroticism*—from any sense of functionality!).<sup>110</sup> The development of Ullmann's

---

<sup>108</sup> Adler died in London in 1988. Kramer, 4; Programme 1975 Dez, December 16, 1975, "Dokumentationsmaterial (Korrespondenz, Programme, Rezensionen, etc.) zu Aufführungen von *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* von Julie und Kerry Woodward," Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>109</sup> Karas, 111.

<sup>110</sup> Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 68.

compositional style can be divided into three periods. His first period, 1920 through the early-1930s, is marked by Ullmann distinguishing himself from his instruction under Schoenberg, specifically the twelve-tone method. Like Schoenberg, Ullmann was conservative in his use of forms, focusing on Classical- and Romantic-era inspirations.<sup>111</sup> Although Ullmann did not study concurrently with Berg under Schoenberg, hearing Berg's music had a deep influence upon Ullmann, especially in Berg's mixing of tonality and atonality. Ullmann shared a friendship with Berg as they traded several letters and two telegrams between 1925 and 1933. Immediately following the April 19, 1925, performance of *Wozzeck* in Prague, Ullmann sent Berg a telegram: "soeben wozekstuecke [!] mit grossem erfolg aufgefuehrt gratulieren herzlichst" (Recently, the *Wozzeck* piece was performed with great success. Sincere congratulations).<sup>112</sup> Ullmann's kind words demonstrate his support and admiration of Berg's compositions. Ullmann composed few pieces in the early-1930s because of his move to manage the anthroposophical bookshop, *Novalis-Bücherstube*.

The First Piano Sonata, op. 10, composed in 1936, is representative of Ullmann's second period.<sup>113</sup> Ullmann defined this sonata as representing his new, natural-harmonic-series approach to composition. Like Alexander Scriabin, Ullmann developed his own system using the natural series of overtones, specifically focusing on the pitches between

---

<sup>111</sup> Healey, "The Solo Piano Music of Viktor Ullmann," 74.

<sup>112</sup> Ingo Schultz, "'...ich bin schon lange ein begeisterter Verehrer Ihres, *Wozzeck*:' Viktor Ullmann und Alban Berg." *Musiktheorie* 7, no. 2 (1992): 114-5; Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 120-1.

<sup>113</sup> The second movement of this sonata is dedicated "In memoriam Gustav Mahler" (In memory of Gustav Mahler). Ullmann, *Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, vi.

eight and fourteen in the series.<sup>114</sup> This approach results in melodies that are expansive with large intervallic leaps. His vocal music uses these large leaps to explore the varying tone colors of the human voice in all three registers.<sup>115</sup> He also was inspired by J. S. Bach and used the ‘B-A-C-H motive’ in two of his works: the last movement of his Fourth Piano Sonata, op. 38, and his Third String Quartet, op. 46.<sup>116</sup> Overall, Ullmann was interested in bridging tonality and serialism, in the tradition of Berg, and through his music, Ullmann combined tonal and atonal procedures. His interest in anthroposophy drove Ullmann to attempt to reconcile the dualism of the perception of self and the opposition it often creates with the perception of the world. This is especially evident in the composition of his anthroposophical opera, *Der Sturz des Antichrist*, op. 9, and is mirrored in the balance Ullmann sought to achieve musically and personally.<sup>117</sup> In a letter to Dr. Karl Reiner dated August 25, 1938, Ullmann explained that musically he used a system that provided harmonic balance. He wrote,

([...] es scheint sich um die Bindung der zwölf Tonarten bzw. Ihrer Mollverwandten auf Grund der chrom. Skala zu handeln. Ich strebte wohl immer nach einen Zwölftonsystem auf tonaler Basis ähnlich dem Prozess der Verschmelzung von Dur und Moll.) Es mag darum gehen, die unerschöpften Bereiche der tonal funktionelle Harmonik zu ergründen oder die Kluft zwischen der romantischen und der „atonalen“ Harmonik auszufüllen. Der Schönbergschule danke ich strenge – will sagen logische Architektonik und Liebe zu den Abenteuern der Klangwelt, der Hábaschule die Verfeinerung des melodischen Empfindens, den Ausblick auf neue formale Werte und die Befreiung von dem Kanon Beethovens und Brahms‘. Wenn ich meine Arbeiten betrachte, so sehe ich an jedem Werke einen andern Stik und es will mir scheinen, daß sie doch

---

<sup>114</sup> Healey, “The Solo Piano Music of Viktor Ullmann,” 72; Ullmann, *Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, vi.

<sup>115</sup> Ullmann, *Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, vi.

<sup>116</sup> Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 185, 198.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 124-5.

zusammgehören. Die Stildiskussion empfinde ich schon lange als kunstwidrig. Ein jeder Vogel singt seine eigene Weise, wie es in dem Gedichte von Claudius heisst.

(([...] It appears to be the connection of the twelve keys, respectively their minor relatives in regards to the chromatic scale. It seems that I always aspire to a twelve-tone-system [*sic*] on a tonal basis, similar to the merging of major and minor keys). It may be about exploring the uncharted realms of functional harmony or filling the gap between romantic and atonal harmony. I owe Schönberg's school strict – meaning logical – architecture and love for the adventures in the world of sound, Hába's school the refinement of melodic sensitivity, a preview of new formal values and the liberation from Beethoven's and Brahms' canon. When I look at my compositions, I do recognize a different style in each piece, and still it appears that they belong together. For some time now, it seems to me that these style discussions are counterproductive for art. Each bird sings in his own way, as it is said in the poem by Claudius.)<sup>118</sup>

In this letter Ullmann provides commentary on his oeuvre and therefore provides a self-reflection on his compositional process and gives insight into his journey as a composer.

Ullmann's final compositional period occurred concurrently with his time in Theresienstadt. It was here that Ullmann became a mature composer, where he approached imprisonment with transcendence.<sup>119</sup> He described his Theresienstadt experience in his essay "Goethe und Ghetto" (Goethe and Ghetto):

... So schien mir Goethes Maxime: 'Lebe im Augenblick, lebe in der Ewigkeit' immer den rätselhaften Sinn der Kunst ganz zu enthüllen... Theresienstadt war und ist für mich die Schule der Form. Früher, wo man Wucht und Last des stofflichen Lebens nicht fühlte, weil der Komfort, diese Magie der Zivilisation, sie verdrängte, war es leicht, die schöne Form zu schaffen. Hier, wo man auch im täglichen Leben den Stoff durch die Form zu überwinden hat, wo alles Musische im vollen Gegensatz zur Umwelt steht: Hier ist die wahre Meisterschule, wenn man mit Schiller das Geheimnis des Kunstwerks darin sieht: den Stoff durch die Form zu vertilgen, was ja vermutlich die Mission des Menschen überhaupt ist, nicht nur des ästhetischen, sondern auch des ethischen, meist um den Bedürfnissen und Wünschen von Dirigenten, Regisseuren, Pianisten, Sängern und damit den Bedürfnissen der Freizeitgestaltung des Ghettos zu genügen. Sie

---

<sup>118</sup> Bravo, "Staging Death," 140.

<sup>119</sup> Bravo, "Viktor Ullmann."

aufzuzählen scheint mir ebenso müßig wie etwa zu betonen, daß man in Theresienstadt nicht Klavier spielen konnte, solange es keine Instrumente gab. Auch der empfindliche Mangel an Notenpapier dürfte für kommende Geschlechter uninteressant sein. Zu betonen ist nur, daß ich in meiner musikalischen Arbeit durch keineswegs bloß klagend an Babylons Flüssen saßen und daß unser Kulturwille unserem Lebenswillen adäquat war; und ich bin überzeugt davon, daß alle, die bestrebt waren, in Leben und Kunst die Form dem widerstrebenden Stoffe abzurufen, mir Recht geben werden.<sup>120</sup>

(...Thus, Goethe's maxim: "Live within the moment, live in eternity" has always revealed to me the enigmatic meaning of Art...Theresienstadt was and is for me the school of Form. Earlier, when one did not feel the impact and burden of material life because they were erased by comfort, this magic accomplishment of civilization, it was easy to create beautiful forms. Here where even in daily life one must overcome matter by the power of Form, where anything connected with the muses is in utter contrast to the surroundings, here is the true school for masters if one, following Schiller, perceives the secret of every work of art in the endeavor to annihilate matter by the means of form—which, presumably is the overall mission of Man, not only the esthetical man, but of the ethical man as well. I have written in Theresienstadt a fair amount of new music, mainly to meet the needs and wishes of conductors, stage directors, pianists and singers, and thereby of the Recreation Administration of the Ghetto. To compile a list would seem superfluous as to point out that piano playing was impossible in Theresienstadt as long as there were no instruments. Likewise uninteresting for future generations should be the painful scarcity of music manuscript paper. But it must be emphasized that Theresienstadt has served to enhance, not impede, my musical activities, that by no means did we sit weeping on the banks of the waters of Babylon, and that our endeavor with respect to Art was commensurate with our will to live. And I am convinced that all those who, in life and in art, were fighting to force form upon resisting matter, will agree with me.)<sup>121</sup>

In this short essay, Ullmann's frustrations with his imprisonment are apparent, and despite the horrific conditions of Theresienstadt, this place provided a confluence of creativity. Ullmann was inspired in the caldron of Theresienstadt where he was given the opportunity to focus exclusively on music—its creation and performance—without the timeless artist's burden of providing for a family. Many of the composers who were

---

<sup>120</sup> H. G. Adler, *Theresienstadt, 1941-1945, Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft, Zweite Auflage*, afterword by Jeremy Adler (Göttingen, Germany: Wallstein Verlag, 2012), 661.

<sup>121</sup> Bloch, "Viktor Ullmann: A Brief Biography and Appreciation," 162.



prisoners there were stifled in their art, yet somehow Ullmann was inspired. Instead of ‘weeping on the banks of the waters of Babylon,’ he worked diligently to create art and actively resisted wallowing in self-pity.<sup>122</sup>

Ullmann follows the tradition of western art music through J.S. Bach, Brahms, Mahler, Schoenberg, and Berg, while also being influenced by the Czech composers Zemlinsky, Leoš Janáček, and Joseph Suk.<sup>123</sup> Ullmann owes his sense of logical structure and polished melodic development to Schoenberg. His compositions reflect the dissolution of functional tonality through the manipulation of a minimal amount of musical material to create a coherent musical structure by integrating tonality with atonality.<sup>124</sup> Polyphony is a characteristic of many of Ullmann’s Theresienstadt works. Imitation and canonic techniques along with fugal elements can be found throughout his oeuvre. He often used simple folk-like melodies, harmonization using augmented or altered chords, and unconventional intervals such as tritones and major sevenths within traditional harmonies as integral to his harmonic language.<sup>125</sup> In a letter dated October 11, 1931, Ullmann wrote to Berg, “...die Liebe su den Meistern gestiegen!” (...my love for

---

<sup>122</sup> In “Goethe und Ghetto,” Ullmann references Psalm 137: “By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion.” Ullmann was contrasting the Babylonian Exile of the Jewish people to his situation in Theresienstadt. He had no intention of allowing his circumstances to quench his creative passions. Ps. 137: 1 (King James Version).

<sup>123</sup> Suk’s influence on Ullmann is discussed in chapter 4. Bravo, “Staging Death,” 207.

<sup>124</sup> Rachel Bergman, “Set on Notes: Palindromes and Other Symmetry in the Music of Viktor Ullmann,” *Gamut: Online Journal of Music Theory Society of the Mid-Atlantic* 6, no. 1 (2013), <http://trace.tennessee.edu/gamut/vol6/iss1/6> (accessed October 19, 2013), 194.

<sup>125</sup> Radha Upton, “Between Heaven and Earth: Viktor Ullmann’s Steffen-Lieder Op. 17” (DMA diss., University of North Carolina, Greensboro, 2011), 24.

the masters has grown!).<sup>126</sup> Ullmann reached back to older musical traditions with Neo-Baroque tendencies.<sup>127</sup> Some of Ullmann's compositions even reflect the works of Kurt Weill and were also affected by popular music of the time, such as jazz and cabaret.<sup>128</sup>

In Theresienstadt, Ullmann expanded his use of percussion instruments and used the full palate available in a small orchestra. Ullmann's Piano Concerto, op. 25, demonstrates his creative orchestration in the use of a tenor banjo in a full orchestral arrangement.<sup>129</sup> Ullmann's compositions are defined by his use of the natural-harmonic-series, dissonances, the whole-tone scale, altered chords, augmented chords, text painting, prosody, and, as stated earlier, his balance of tonality and atonality. He was influenced by his contemporaries as well as composers of the classical canon, as demonstrated by his music-society memberships, concert attendance, and music critiques. Ullmann even took notice of and was inspired by fellow prisoner composers in the ghetto. In his article "Gideon Klein, Moravian Composer," musicologist Robin Freeman shows that Ullmann was influenced by Gideon Klein in the *alla marcia* section of Ullmann's Seventh Piano Sonata in the use of rhythms and harmonies.<sup>130</sup>

Lederer said of Ullmann in regard to his compositional style: "Viktor Ullman [*sic*], a disciple of Schoenberg, though born in Czechoslovakia, had spent most of his life in Germany. His music, like Berg's was pessimistic. He composed many pieces for the

---

<sup>126</sup> Bravo, "Staging Death," 288-9.

<sup>127</sup> Klein, "Viktor Ullmann," 66.

<sup>128</sup> Eckhard John, "Music and Concentration Camps," trans. by Ernest F. Livingstone, *Journal of Musicological Research* 20 (2001): 293.

<sup>129</sup> Bloch, "Viktor Ullmann: A Brief Biography and Appreciation," 164.

<sup>130</sup> Robin Freeman, "Gideon Klein, Moravian Composer," *Tempo* 59 (2005): 18.

piano, some songs and even an opera [while in Theresienstadt].”<sup>131</sup> Lederer’s conception of Ullmann’s music as pessimistic is perhaps only a manifestation of his misunderstanding of Ullmann’s musical language and anthroposophic and expressionistic poetic choices.<sup>132</sup> Ullmann was not pessimistic, but instead was exploring the reality of his current conditions through a blending of tonality and atonality. One thing Lederer was correct in hearing was the influence of Berg in Ullmann’s music.

### **Ullmann’s Vocal Music**

Ullmann realized the difficulties that singers experience in the vocal lines of some twentieth-century compositions despite the fact that he was not a trained singer. In his article “Zur Frage der modernen Vocalmusik” (The Question of Modern Vocal Music) Ullmann directly addressed this issue: “Schon der Einzelsänger ist im begleiteten Satz vor das Problem gestellt, eine Linie, welche nicht mehr in das verwandte Tongeschlecht eingebettet ist, durchzuführen und rein zu erhalten; ausserdem kämpft er mit ungewohnten und grossen Melodieschritten.” (Even the solo singer in an accompanied setting experiences the difficulty of performing a line outside of the context of the related tonality and keep it in tune. Additionally, the singer must deal with unfamiliar and large melodic leaps.)<sup>133</sup> Ullmann composed works understanding the difficulties that singers can experience with music that strays from tonality. His vocal music balances intervallic

---

<sup>131</sup> Lederer, 127.

<sup>132</sup> In an environment that was constantly changing in regard to the social, the cultural, and the political, Ullmann found kindred spirits in the expressionist poets. Additionally, Ullmann only lived briefly in Germany while managing the anthroposophical bookshop.

<sup>133</sup> Viktor Ullmann, “Zur Frage der modernen Vocalmusik,” *Der Auftakt* 9 (1929): 274.

leaps with doubling in the piano, either by outlining the vocal line or through chord structure. Ullmann understood how to compose song not only in technique, but also in prosody.<sup>134</sup> With few exceptions, Ullmann's vocal compositions demand developed aural skills in conjunction with technical prowess on the part of the musicians, yet these works are worth the effort to prepare and present to a wider audience.

Affiliations, categories, and labels shaped Ullmann's experiences. Over the course of his lifetime, Ullmann was a composer, writer, teacher, musician, conductor, music critic, business owner, army lieutenant, decorated World War I veteran, husband and father, Baron, Roman Catholic, and follower of Anthroposophy. Of course, being Jewish was the label that affected Ullmann the most and the part of his heritage that he did not explore before his imprisonment in Theresienstadt.

Over the course of the following chapters, Ullmann's Theresienstadt vocal works performable by mezzo-soprano are discussed. Chapter 3 explores works composed for voice with piano accompaniment: *Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)* (Three Yiddish Songs (Birch)), op. 53; *Drei chinesische Lieder* (Three Chinese Songs); and *Immer inmitten*, Solo-Kantate nach Gedichten von Hans Günther Adler (Always in the Midst, Solo Cantata with Poetry by Hans Günther Adler). Chapter 4 covers pieces that were originally orchestrated for string trio or full orchestra: *Lieder der Tröstung* (Songs of Consolation), "Herbst," and "Arie des Trommlers" (The Drummer's Aria) from *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Todverweigerung* (The Emperor of Atlantis or Death's Refusal), op. 49. The fifth chapter offers the conclusion and suggestions for further

---

<sup>134</sup> The English translation is by Anne Heritage. *Musica Rediviva—Viktor Ullmann Lieder*, Orfeo International Music GmbH, München. C 380 952 H. 1995, liner notes.

study. Three appendices provide tools to ease performance of these works. Appendix I contains the texts, International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) transcriptions, and translations for all the pieces. Appendix II provides translations for relevant poetry and texts, while appendix III gives suggestions for pieces to pair with Ullmann's works in recital.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Pieces for Voice and Piano

Always in the midst, always in the midst  
through the districts of wonderment traveled,  
far from home but near the fountain,  
what hasn't the soul all suffered...<sup>135</sup>

-H.G. Adler

A modified version of the methodology used by Carol Kimball in *Song: A Guide to Art Song Style and Literature* is the analytical framework for this chapter.<sup>136</sup> In addition to Kimball's model, I briefly discuss biographical information about the poet for each work and address each piece's difficulty level. Chapter 1 contains the format of this analysis and the items are only referenced when applicable to the piece in question. The songs discussed in this chapter are published in Schott's 2004 *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier* (Ullmann: Complete Songs for Voice and Piano). All of the texts, IPA transcriptions, and translations for the pieces in this chapter are located in appendix I. For ease in programming, suggestions for works that pair well with the Ullmann compositions discussed in this guide are listed in appendix III.

---

<sup>135</sup> The translation is by Dr. Kathleen Maurer and the author. "Immer inmitten, immer inmitten durch alle Wunderbezirke geschritten, ferne der Heimat doch nahe dem Born, was hat nicht die Seele alles erlitten..." Hans Günther Adler, "Immer inmitten," May 31, 1943, "Literarische Produktion aus dem Lagerjahren Originalfassungen 1942-1945," Sammlung H.G. Adler, Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach am Neckar, Germany.

<sup>136</sup> Carol Kimball, *Song: A Guide to Art Song Style and Literature*, revised ed. (Milwaukee: Hal Leonard, 2005), 3-21.

*Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)* (Three Yiddish Songs (Birch)), op. 53

Theresienstadt inspired an exploration of Jewish culture in some of its prisoners through the aestheticism created in the catalyst of the ghetto. Not everyone in Theresienstadt practiced Judaism as a religion or was exposed to Judaism prior to arriving in Theresienstadt. Many composers and poets, and some for the first time, learned Hebrew and Yiddish. They learned what it was to be Jewish from the devout Hassidim, who were their fellow prisoners.<sup>137</sup> Ullmann's exploration of Jewish themes in his compositions is evident in his setting of Yiddish folksongs in addition to his Hebrew and Yiddish choral works. He explored Jewish cultural elements and themes in his music as part of this new aesthetic. Without a previous exposure to Jewish life and music, for these Eastern European Yiddish pieces Ullmann depended on compositional techniques that are based on a style of folksong arrangement that became popular after World War I. The setting of *Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka) für Singstimme und Klavier* (Three Yiddish Songs (Birch) for singer and piano), op. 53, is a definitive example of Ullmann's confrontation with his Jewish heritage.<sup>138</sup>

The manuscript of the first folksong of this cycle, "Berjoskele" (Little Birch Tree), is signed with the date May 25, 1944. It is possible that the cycle was arranged for a Jewish folksong evening later that same year.<sup>139</sup> The lyrics for all three folksongs, "Berjoskele," "Margarithelech" (Daisies), and "A Mejdle in die Johren" (A Girl Who Is

---

<sup>137</sup> Philip V. Bohlman, "Epilogue: Beyond Jewish Modernism," in *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*, foreword by Sander L. Gilman (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 231-2.

<sup>138</sup> The subtitle for the cycle, *Březulinka*, refers to the birch tree in the first folksong, "Berjoskele." Bohlman, "Epilogue: Beyond Jewish Modernism," 231-2.

<sup>139</sup> Wendy Anne Mullen, "The Lieder of Viktor Ullmann: *Sechs Geistliche Lieder*" (DMA diss., Arizona State University, 1999), 44.

No Longer Young), were first collected together with their corresponding melodies in one of Jewish musicologist Menachem Kipnis' collections of published Yiddish songs. Known as the *Kipnis Collection*, these melodies were assembled in Warsaw in the early twentieth century.<sup>140</sup> Only the first-verse texts for these strophic songs were set by Ullmann. The verses that appear in Schott's score titled *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier* (Ullmann: Complete Songs for Voice and Piano) and in the translations and transcriptions in appendix I of this guide were handwritten by Ullmann on the reverse side of the manuscript of each piece.<sup>141</sup> In the *Kipnis Collection*, each folksong has additional verses that are not included in Ullmann's manuscripts, but all the verses are included in the *Editorischer Bericht* (editor's notes) of Schott's published score.<sup>142</sup> It is possible that Ullmann intended for all the folksongs' verses to be performed, as these songs were well-known among members of the Jewish community.<sup>143</sup>

---

<sup>140</sup> A copy of the original page for the melody of "Berjoskele" from the *Kipnis Collection* is found in *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*. Philip V. Bohlman, "Epilogue: Beyond Jewish Modernism," in *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*, 153-177, foreword by Sander L. Gilman (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 231-2; Viktor Ullmann, *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, edited by Axel and Christian Hoesch (New York: Schott, 2004), 238.

<sup>141</sup> Viktor Ullmann, *Drei jiddische Lieder*, May 25, 1944, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>142</sup> This cycle was composed prior to the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research's standardization for the spelling of Yiddish transcriptions and therefore there are discrepancies between Ullmann's manuscript and current Yiddish transcriptions of these texts. The Schott score uses the spellings Ullmann wrote in the manuscript and the standardized YIVO Institute's spelling in the *Editorischer Bericht*. Ullmann, *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, 238-9.

<sup>143</sup> Mullen, "The Lieder of Viktor Ullmann: *Sechs Geistliche Lieder*," 44.



Traditionally Yiddish folksongs are sung unaccompanied and freely interpreted over a wide range of an octave, a tenth, or even more.<sup>144</sup> Approximately fifty percent of Yiddish folksongs are in a minor mode.<sup>145</sup> Yiddish folksongs contain specific themes explored in a traditional way. Both “Margarithelech” and “A Mejdle in die Jöhren” focus on the subject of love.<sup>146</sup> The majority of Yiddish folksongs that explore love do so through lamentation and melancholy longing, often involving the separation of lovers, caused by parental ideals or social barriers.<sup>147</sup> These songs most often were sung by the working classes and women. In “Margarithelech” and “A Mejdle in die Jöhren,” Ullmann kept the form of the traditional folksong melodies. The text and music for the last half of each strophe are repeated, making the form of each strophe ABB' and adding interest to the predictable strophic form.<sup>148</sup> Yiddish folksong texts often explore elements and themes present in *Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)*: diminutives, repetitions, question and answer, dialogues between lovers, lamentations, references to traditional Jewish life, regional dialects and dialectal rhythms, and nature.<sup>149</sup> The poetic themes of “Margarithelech” and “A Mejdle in die Jöhren” differ from the German-language poetry

---

<sup>144</sup> Throughout this guide, range refers to the lowest and highest sounding pitches in the vocal line.

<sup>145</sup> Aharon Vinkovetsky, Abba Kovner, and Sinai Leichte, eds. *Anthology of Yiddish Folksongs* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1989), 1:4, 1:62.

<sup>146</sup> In the *Anthology of Yiddish Folksongs*, vol. 1, both folksongs are listed under the “Love Song” category. Ibid., 1:xi.

<sup>147</sup> Chana Mlotek, “Folk Songs,” *YIVO Encyclopedia*, [http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Folk\\_Songs](http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Folk_Songs) (accessed May 28, 2012).

<sup>148</sup> Vinkovetsky, Kovner, and Leichte, eds. *Anthology of Yiddish Folksongs*, 1:4, 1:62.

<sup>149</sup> Mlotek, “Folk Songs.”

chosen by Ullmann in Theresienstadt, not only in language, but also in content.

“Berjoskele” addresses themes common to Ullmann’s other Theresienstadt works discussed in this guide, such as frustration and longing.

This cycle contains the juxtaposition of Jewish modernism, through Ullmann’s compositional style, with traditional Yiddish folk melodies. The balance of the two styles found in the cycle is representative of this same balance between modernity and Jewish tradition that was present and merged in Theresienstadt.<sup>150</sup> Through *Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)*, Ullmann explored his Jewish heritage while asserting its value by the care demonstrated in the arrangement of these songs. Although Ullmann expressed an interest in Jewish culture, there is no evidence that his views of or adherence to anthroposophy changed. In comparison to the other works covered in this guide, this cycle is simple, yet also profound, in its amalgam of past with present and religion with philosophy. With the exception of the language, *Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)* is the simplest cycle discussed in this guide and can be successfully performed by an advanced undergraduate singer.

#### *“Berjoskele” (Little Birch Tree)*

In “Berjoskele,” the singer asks a little birch tree to act as a mediator between herself and the divine by sending prayers to end her yearnings. The text and melody for this popular folksong are found in the *Kipnis Collection*. The melodic contour is quite fluid and can be likened to a leaf slowly falling to earth, while being buffeted by a gentle breeze. The long phrases in the melody are used to illustrate the gentle breeze and are

---

<sup>150</sup> Bohlman, “Epilogue: Beyond Jewish Modernism,” 231-2.

mirrored by the piano accompaniment. Of the three songs in *Drei jiddische Lieder* (*Březulinka*), “Berjoskele” has the widest range (C4 to A<sup>b</sup>6) with a tessitura of C4 to G5.<sup>151</sup> This folksong, and indeed the entire cycle, is completely diatonic.

Ullmann uses the descending perfect fourth, from the beginning of the folksong’s vocal line, as a building block for the piano accompaniment, as seen in figure 3.1. This ‘sigh motive’ occurs in both the right and left hand of the piano and appears in the first twelve measures of the accompaniment. The lyric vocal articulation is hauntingly musical. Ullmann’s use of text painting is not specific, but instead reflects an overall feeling of quiet contemplation and prayer through the ‘sigh motive.’ This same motive ties the vocal melody to the piano accompaniment and gives the folksong unity and coherence.

Figure 3.1. V. Ullmann, *Drei jiddische Lieder* (*Březulinka*), “Berjoskele,” mm. 5-7.

5

1. Ru - ig, Ru - ig scho-ckelt ihr ge - lock - tes gri - nes  
 2. Fun ——— wei - ten Ma - rev hot sich tro - j - rig far -  
 3. Fun die wei - te Fel - der is a Win - te - le ge -

*pp*

<sup>151</sup> Pitch levels discussed in this guide are identified using the system where ‘middle C’ is C4. The tessitura of “Berjoskele” can be high for some mezzo-sopranos. Ullmann did not designate a *Fach* for this cycle and the other two arrangements in this cycle have an appropriate range and tessitura for middle or low voice. Both mezzo-soprano Anne Sofie von Otter and mezzo-soprano Emilie Berendsen recorded “Berjoskele” in the key of E<sup>b</sup> minor, instead of the original F minor. See: Anne Sofie Von Otter, mezzo-soprano, Benget Forsberg, piano, Christian Gerhaher, baritone, and Daniel Hope, violin. *Terezín/Theresienstadt* (Deutsche Grammophon, CD 00289 477 6546, 2007); *Terezín: The Music 1941-44*, produced by Alexander Goldscheider (London: Romantic Robot, CD. RR 1941. 1991).

The piano accompaniment supports the folksong melody with its thin texture when underneath the voice and thicker texture in the interludes. Light chromaticism colors the simple folksong's F-minor accompaniment with several occurrences of non-chord tones, chromatic motion, and major-seventh chords, particularly in mm. 2, 3, 8, 11, and 22. Tension heightens in m. 3 and m. 11 through the use of non-chord tones embellishing the previously established 'sigh motive.' Beginning in m. 13, Ullmann changes the texture to a chordal-style accompaniment, featuring parallel motion, especially in m. 15. The 'sigh motive' returns in the left hand of the piano to characterize the final six measures. The folksong does not modulate and cadences are often delayed through the use of phrasal overlap into the proceeding phrase. The first cadence takes place at the end of m. 14 with a G-minor-seventh chord and is restated at the end of m. 16. The resolution of the cadence in m. 20 is prolonged until m. 23 when the folksong's forward motion rests on an F-minor chord as demonstrated in figure 3.2. Harmonically, Ullmann reinforces the text's peaceful reflection by keeping the harmonies relatively simple.

Figure 3.2. V. Ullmann, *Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)*, “Berjoskele,” mm. 19-23.

19

*poco rit.* *tranquillo*

Sej schejn, klejn Be - rjos - ke - le, mis - pal - lel ejch far mir!  
 wel - che ho - ben drem - len - dig ge - horcht dem Nach - ti - gall.  
 Sej schejn, klejn Be - rjos - ke - le, mis - pal - lel ejch far mir.

*mf* *p* *pp dolce* *dim.*

21

*poco cresc.* *rit.* *p*

Overall, the rhythm is quite simple, in keeping with the folksong genre. The *Lento* (*poco andante*) tempo appropriately expresses the contemplative text. The simple-quadruple meter established in the beginning remains throughout. Dotted rhythms only occur in the vocal line when called for by the prosody. The use of quarter notes within the ‘sigh motive’ unifies the work.

Ullmann often mirrors the vocal line in the piano accompaniment. This is especially evident in the ‘sigh motive,’ present in the prelude (mm. 1-4), the first interlude (mm. 11-12), and the postlude (mm. 21-23). The second interlude builds momentum in m. 15 and repeats material from m. 14 in m. 16 with the melodic line occurring one octave lower, as seen in figure 3.3. Ullmann’s approach to the accompaniment is simple—he maintains interest and continuity through the ‘sigh motive’ and repetition in the vocal line. This approach reinforces the prayerful and innocent mood in the poetry. The linear texture in the accompaniment reflects Ullmann’s post-World War I folksong treatment method.

Figure 3.3. V. Ullmann, *Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)*, “Berjoskele,” mm. 14-16.

14

sheap-tshet shtil a t'fil - le.  
Ble - te - lech die Klej - ne,  
mir ge - nu - men ben - ken.

*f* *f* *mf*

David Einhorn<sup>152</sup> (1886-1973), noted Jewish poet and publicist, penned the poem “Berjoskele.” A champion of the Yiddish language, Einhorn believed it to be an essential

<sup>152</sup> Einhorn’s name is sometimes spelled ‘Dovid Eynhorn.’

part of Jewish heritage and was strongly against assimilation.<sup>153</sup> Musicologist Philip V. Bohlman describes “Berjoskele” as “a song about the estrangement of the poem’s narrator, facing the confusion of the modern world. That confusion disrupts the coming of age, the discovery of identity, and the decision to cross borders demanded by rites of passage.”<sup>154</sup> Musicologist David Bloch interprets the text as telling the story of “...a visitor to a village, whose prayers will not be understood by the local god.”<sup>155</sup> The text could also be a contemplation of the manifestation of the voice of the divine, speaking through nature.<sup>156</sup> The divine in nature is an important tenant of anthroposophy. The folk melody determines the prosody of the folksong. Ullmann’s accompaniment supports the text and melody by reinforcing the melodic and rhythmic ideas, while adding interest and depth to the folksong. Within a strophic framework, Ullmann’s inspiration sprang from his exposure to religious Judaism while imprisoned in Theresienstadt.

The manuscript of “Berjoskele” is discernable, yet it was composed on an extremely thin and previously used sheet of manuscript paper and is therefore difficult to read.<sup>157</sup> Ullmann’s repurposing of manuscript paper reflects the lack of materials available in Theresienstadt. On the reverse of the last page of the manuscript for

---

<sup>153</sup> Shifra Kuperman, “Eynhorn, Dovid,” translated by Carrie Friedman-Cohen, *YIVO Encyclopedia*, [http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Eynhorn\\_Dovid](http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Eynhorn_Dovid) (accessed October 28, 2013).

<sup>154</sup> Bohlman, “Epilogue: Beyond Jewish Modernism,” 232.

<sup>155</sup> David Bloch, “‘No One Can Rob of Us Our Dreams:’ Solo Songs from Terezin,” *Israel Studies in Musicology* 5 (1990): 70-1.

<sup>156</sup> In the manuscript, Ullmann deliberately and with great force placed exclamation points at the end of the phrase “Sej schejn klein Berjoskele, mispallel ejch far mir!” (Be nice, little birch tree, say a prayer for me!). Ullmann, *Drei Jiddische Lieder*, May 25, 1944, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>157</sup> Ullmann, *Drei jiddische Lieder*, May 25, 1944, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

“Berjoskele,” Ullmann copied the text for the second and third verses of the folksong. A different verse than the one Ullmann used is traditionally sung as the second verse for this folksong.<sup>158</sup> Ullmann signed the folksong as completed with “25.V.44 Ullmann Terezín” (May 25, 1944 Ullmann Terezín).<sup>159</sup> Of all the compositions explored in this guide, this is the only piece signed with “Terezín” instead of “Theresienstadt.” In using the Czech name for his place of imprisonment, Ullmann may have been taking a step away from the German and Austrian roots of the ghetto.

*“Margarithelech” (Daisies)*

In “Margarithelech,” a young woman sings in the forest and enjoys the delights of nature and of the young man who visits her in the wood. Each verse of the poetry ends with the wistful singing of the young, daydreaming Chavele. The folksong’s melodic contour reinforces Chavele’s carefree mood. The “Tra-la-la-la” text at the end of each strophe exhibits Chavele relishing her youth, specifically in the use of the fermata in m. 9b. The folksong consists of two long vocal phrases that are held within a range from D4 to F5 with a tessitura from F4 to E5. True to the genre, the voice line is completely diatonic within the key of D minor.

---

<sup>158</sup> Ullmann, *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, 238-9.

<sup>159</sup> On the bottom of the reverse side of the first page of the manuscript, music has been composed. This page is turned upside-down allowing Ullmann to use the empty reverse of the sheet as the front page and the top half of the opposing side of the manuscript paper. On the top of the second page of staff paper, Ullmann began to write out a repetition of the first two measures of “Berjoskele” in green ink, yet these two measures are crossed out, and Ullmann continues with m. 19. Ullmann could have used the second sheet as the original first page, as this second sheet has the title of the piece and a tempo marking of *Poco andante* written at the top. This page has the number two written at the bottom. Ullmann, *Drei Jiddische Lieder*, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.



Ullmann retained the traditional melody in the light, lyrical quality of the original folksong.<sup>160</sup> The running sixteenth notes in the right hand of the piano in the second half of each strophe establish the playfulness of this delightful folksong. Ullmann created a rather thin, tonal harmonic texture through a combination of chords and broken figures. The diatonic harmonies mirror and support the vocal line above. The key does not deviate from D minor, but non-chord tones add interest to the piano accompaniment. Major harmonies occur throughout the folksong and contrast nicely with the D-minor harmonies. Alois Hába's possible influence can be heard in the C-quartal chord that occurs at the beginning of m. 5.<sup>161</sup> The first cadence occurs in m. 6 and rests on an F-major chord, as seen in figure 3.4. The vocal line ends at m. 10b with the suggestion of a D chord missing the third. An F-natural occurs in the second beat of that measure, resolving the tension and the mystery with the D chord now being heard as minor. The folksong ends on a G-major chord followed by the non-chord tones C<sup>#</sup> and E<sup>b</sup> moving in a descending sigh-like motion. The octave Ds in the left hand of the piano bring the coda to a close with this playful sigh.

---

<sup>160</sup> Vinkovetsky, Kovner, and Leichte, eds. *Anthology of Yiddish Folksongs*, 1:62.

<sup>161</sup> Hába (1893-1973) was a Czech composer, teacher, and theorist. He is regarded as the developer of quarter- and sixth-tone composition in Western art music. Ullmann was a student of Hába at the Prague Conservatory. Chapter 2 contains more information on Hába. Vlasta Reittererova, "The Hába 'School'," *Czech Music* (2005): 10.

Figure 3.4. V. Ullmann, *Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)*, “Margarithelech,” mm. 4-6.

4

se - nen ge - wak - sen Marga - ri - the - lech e - lent un klejn \_\_\_\_\_ wie  
 still un far - cho - lemt, zu - lo - sen die gold - blon - de Zep \_\_\_\_\_ dos  
 Bo - cher ver - schwun - den un Cha - ve - le sitzt noch in Wald. \_\_\_\_\_ Sie

*pp*

Ullmann gave the piece a tempo of *Moderato piacevole* (moderately pleasant) that remains the same until the *poco ritardando* in m. 12 of the coda. The duple compound meter is a function of the folksong’s melody. The running sixteenth notes that carry the vocal line forward throughout the folksong demonstrate Chavele’s joy and the fluttering of her excited heart. Very few of the rhythms differ from this running sixteenth-note pattern. Despite the time signature, dotted rhythms occur infrequently and only show themselves when called upon to provide proper word stress. The ends of the phrases slow through the use of the fermata in m. 9b.

Ullmann begins “Margarithelech” with a two-measure prelude and ends with a three-measure coda. Measure 1 contains a descending motive of a dotted-half-note A held over a sixteenth-note pattern of G-E<sup>b</sup>, F-C<sup>#</sup>-D that is slightly modified in m. 2 as seen in figure 3.5. Ullmann creates continuity through the use of repetition in the right hand of the accompaniment. For example, m. 2 repeats in m. 6 and the entirety of mm. 1-2 repeats in mm. 10b-11. The folksong’s coda builds up to a tension-and-release moment as

the piano accompaniment gains intensity through m. 12 and then releases in m. 13 to the octave Ds at the end of the folksong. The piano accompaniment often doubles pitch and rhythmic material with the voice in order to aid the singer and maintain the folksong quality of the piece. The accompaniment's running eighth notes help to illustrate the mood of Chavele's carefree happiness, especially in the second half of each strophe beneath the "Tra-la-la-la" text. The trills in the right hand of the piano accompaniment in m. 9a and m. 9b represent the sounds of the forest. The thin and linear texture of the folksong's accompaniment propels the motion of the piece forward.

Figure 3.5. V. Ullmann, *Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)*, "Margarithelech," mm. 1-3.

**Moderato piacevole**

1. In Wel - del beim Tei - chel, dort  
 2. Ge - gan - gen is Cha - ve - le  
 3. Die Sun is for - gan - gen, der

The text for "Margarithelech" was written by Zalman Shazar (1898-1974) in 1909 and the vocal line is set to a popular melody of that time. Shazar, born Schneor Zalman Rubashov, was a scholar, writer, and the third president of the State of Israel (1963-73).

His writings are in both Yiddish and Hebrew, and he is known for applying lyricism to topics that ranged from the biblical to the contemporary.<sup>162</sup>

The manuscript of “Margarithelech” is not a sketch, but a complete composition. The first and second endings are clearly indicated in the manuscript and Ullmann placed an asterisk above the coda with the text “nach der letzten Strophe” (after the final strophe), making the score easy to follow. Ullmann titled and signed the piece in the top right-hand corner of the score with “Viktor Ullmann op. 53, Nr. II.,” but did not give the date of composition, unless the date and signature for “Berjoskele” was intended for the entire cycle. On the back of the manuscript, Ullmann wrote the text for the second and third strophes.<sup>163</sup> Traditionally, a different verse is sung as the third verse of the folksong. Ullmann chose to use the twelfth, or last verse, as the third verse of his arrangement, essentially skipping over the flirtation and subsequent intertwinement between Chavele and the dark, young man to end the story with Chavele’s daydreams that occur in verses three through eleven of the original folksong.<sup>164</sup>

---

<sup>162</sup> During Ullmann’s imprisonment in Theresienstadt, Shazar was living in Palestine. Susan Rolef, “Shneour Zalman Shazar,” *Encyclopaedia Judaica. Biography in Context*, [http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&source=&search\\_within\\_results=&action=e&catId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CK2587518250&userGroupName=munc80314&jsid=87cf1f769a62383a79cede0abc5de798](http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&source=&search_within_results=&action=e&catId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CK2587518250&userGroupName=munc80314&jsid=87cf1f769a62383a79cede0abc5de798) (accessed October 28, 2013).

<sup>163</sup> The published Schott score leaves out a *decrescendo* that occurs immediately after the accent mark in m. 13 in the first beat of the measure. Ullmann used a mixture of writing utensils, starting in pencil and moving to crayon in m. 4. The text and performance indications were written in pen. The two pieces of manuscript paper do not match. Ullmann, *Drei jiddische Lieder*, May 25, 1944, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>164</sup> The traditional third verse is listed in the Schott edition. Ullmann places quotation marks around the final “Tra-la-la-la!” in the third verse, but the quotation marks are not in the Schott edition of the score. Ullmann, *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, 238; Ullmann, *Drei jiddische Lieder*, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

*“A Mejdol in die Johren” (A Girl Who Is No Longer Young)*

The story of a no-longer-young woman being left at the altar is told in “A Mejdol in die Johren.” Ullmann sets this folksong in a way that masks the nameless woman’s pain—caused by this rejection and the loss of her youth. This piece combines the forward rhythmic motion of “Margarithelech” with the parallel octaves of “Berjoskele.” The melody of “A Mejdol in die Johren” sweeps through the folksong with long phrases. The range extends from D4 to F5 with a similar tessitura. The lyric melodic line is diatonic, and because of the strophic nature of the piece, text painting does not exist in the vocal line. In his setting, Ullmann changed the melody of the traditional folksong by altering the ends of the phrases of the vocal line. With the exception of the final phrase’s second ending in Ullmann’s arrangement, all of the vocal phrase endings ascend.<sup>165</sup> The ascending fourth motive in m. 4 of the vocal line repeats in m. 6 and in m. 8; it functions as an inverted sigh. The repetition of the inverted sigh in mm. 6 and 8 could explain Ullmann’s deviation from the original folksong melody and is demonstrated in figure 3.6. At the end of the vocal line, a descending fourth, or sigh, occurs between m. 11 and m. 12b as a variation on the earlier ascending fourths to finish the vocal line and ends in the same way as the original folk melody.

---

<sup>165</sup> Vinkovetsky, Kovner, and Leichte, eds. *Anthology of Yiddish Folksongs*, 1:4.

Figure 3.6. V. Ullmann, *Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)*, “A Mejdle in die Johren,” mm. 4-9.

4

1. Ich bin schejn a Mej-del in die Joh - ren, \_\_\_\_\_ wos  
 2. Du host mir zu - ge - sogt zu ne - men, \_\_\_\_\_ un

7

hos - tu mir den Kopf for - dreht? \_\_\_\_\_ Ich wo - lt sche - jn lang a \_\_\_\_\_  
 ich hob ejf Dir ge - wart; \_\_\_\_\_ far - wos solst - tu, Du - schen - ju,

*mf*

*f*

\* weitere Strophen im Editorischen Bericht

The harmonic texture of Ullmann’s accompaniment is tonal, chordal, thick, and primarily diatonic. Non-chord tones are used to help color the D-minor key center and seventh chords are replete throughout. Like “Margarithelech,” Ullmann uses major sonorities to add interest to the folksong. The only true cadence in the vocal line occurs at the end of the last phrase of each strophe in mm. 12a and 12b on a D-minor chord. The mix of minor and major sonorities reinforces the frustration and duality of the text with the accompaniment.

Ullmann does not give a tempo indication at the beginning of this folksong. The simple-quadruple meter remains the same throughout and is supported by the simple rhythms in the vocal line. Repeated eighth-note rhythms propel the motion forward and are aided by the ostinato pattern in the left hand of the piano, also containing eighth-note rhythms. The rhythmic interaction of the vocal line with the accompaniment is the most significant part of the accompaniment's role in this folksong. This interaction is especially apparent in the parallel-octave ostinato that occurs in the left hand of the accompaniment. The syncopation that occurs between the right and left hand of the piano accompaniment in conjunction with the vocal line reinforces the text by giving the folksong a slightly unsettled feeling. The wedding celebration that never happened is characterized by the syncopation.

The piano prelude presents the harmonic ideas that occur throughout the accompaniment. The accompaniment of "A Mejdell in die Jöhren" is defined by an ascending fourth interval (first seen in m. 2), syncopation between the right and left hand, and parallel octave motion in the left hand. A short interlude occurs between the first and second strophe in mm. 3-4 and mm. 12b-13. The postlude includes the second ending of the last strophe through the end of the coda, mm. 12b-16. From the beginning, the left-hand ostinato moves in a pattern of a mostly step-wise motion that begins with eighth notes on the beat followed by eighth notes on the off-beats and changes to a quarter-note rhythmic pattern in the third beat of m. 7. Ullmann uses the left-hand ostinato pattern, established in m. 1, in the first two beats of the right hand of m. 3 with the rests present in m. 1 removed. In mm. 1-2, Ullmann used a variation of the folksong's melody from the beginning of the vocal line in mm. 5-6 and repeats this same idea in mm. 12b and 15. As

the accompaniment moves into the coda, the eighth-note pattern returns in mm. 12b-14. He makes this folksong accessible to singers by mirroring almost every pitch of the vocal line in the accompaniment, either at the exact pitch level or in the same pitch class.

The linear texture of the accompaniment drives the folksong forward. The ‘sigh motive’ occurs three times mm. 14-16 in the right hand of the piano. Ullmann designated *seufzend* (sighing) with the second appearance of the motive in these measures. The last occurrence of the ‘sigh motive’ coincides with an accent and two fermatas that reinforce and exaggerate the mood. The use of the repeated ‘sigh motive’ in the right hand at the coda creates drama. The accents and staccato markings stress the no-longer-young woman’s frustration with her former lover.

Unlike the other folksongs chosen by Ullmann for this cycle, the poet for “A Mejdél in die Johren” is unknown. The text is a morality play meant to teach young women to choose wisely when deciding on whom to marry. The form of this folksong’s strophes is exactly the same as the modified strophic form of “Margarithelech,” ABB'. The first and second endings are indicated in the manuscript by Ullmann with an asterisk that indicates that the coda should be performed “nach der letzten Strophe” (after the last strophe). The musical score is written in pencil with the text, dynamics, tempos, phrasing, repeat marks, and corrections made in purple/black crayon. None of the markings in the Schott score are editorial. Ullmann signed “A Mejdél in die Johren” in crayon.<sup>166</sup>

The pieces of *Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)* contain many commonalities that hold the cycle together. All three pieces share a common language, a small range, and strophic form. Ullmann set the first verse of each piece while writing out either one or

---

<sup>166</sup> Ullmann, *Drei jiddische Lieder*, May 25, 1944, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.



two more verses in the manuscript. The cycle has only two keys, both minor. As the cycle moves from piece to piece the tempos slightly increase from folksong to folksong and the pieces progress from *pianissimo* to an increases dynamic level through the cycle. The simple-quadruple meter remains constant throughout the duration of each folksong. “Berjoskele” uses the ‘sigh motive’ as a foundation upon which the piece is built, and all of the folksongs contain at least one occurrence of a ‘sigh motive.’ All the songs contain a prelude and coda with vocal mirroring in the accompaniment. Parallel-octave motion occurs in the bass of both “Berjoskele” and “A Mejdle in die Johren.” In choosing the folk melodies “Margarithelele” and “A Mejdle in die Johren,” Ullmann contrasts the young love of the carefree Chavele with the no-longer-young woman left alone at the altar. Ullmann combined his compositional skills with Jewish tradition in the creation of this cycle.

### *Drei chinesische Lieder* (Three Chinese Songs)

The poetry for Viktor Ullmann’s song cycle *Drei chinesische Lieder* (Three Chinese Songs) is from a collection of Chinese poetry translated into German by Alfred Henschke (1890-1928) who wrote under the pseudonym Klabund.<sup>167</sup> The original Chinese text is found in Shi Jing’s *Book of Odes*, which contains approximately 300 Chinese poems and songs. There are two different printings that Ullmann could have used in Theresienstadt, one from a set published in 1915 and 1916 and another published

---

<sup>167</sup> Ingo Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008), 241.

in 1933.<sup>168</sup> At least one of the printings was part of Theresienstadt's *Ghettozentralbücherei* (Ghetto Central Library) collection with Dr. Emil Utitz, friend and confidant to Ullmann, as head librarian.<sup>169</sup> Both Ullmann and Pavel Haas (1899-1944), fellow composer and Theresienstadt prisoner, were drawn to this compilation of ancient Chinese poems for Theresienstadt song-cycle texts. Haas composed *Vier chinesische Lieder* (Four Chinese Songs) shortly before his deportation to Auschwitz.<sup>170</sup> Ullmann was familiar with Chinese texts translated by Klabund and used Klabund translations for his song cycle *Der Kreidekreis* (The Chalk Cycle), Ullmann's most publically successful work during his lifetime.<sup>171</sup> Alexander Zemlinsky, Ullmann's mentor, was fascinated with literary works from non-European cultures and used Klabund translations for his own compositions.<sup>172</sup>

---

<sup>168</sup> Both poems are translated in exactly the same way in both publications. IPA transcriptions and translations for this cycle are located in appendix I. Ullmann, *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, 236; Klabund [pseud.], *Chinesische Gedichte: Nachdichtungen von Klabund*, pictures by Georg Mayer-Marton (Wien: Phaidon-Verlag, 1933); Klabund [pseud.], *Dumpfe Trommel und Beraushtes Gong: Nachdichtungen Chinesischer Kriegsliteratur*, no. 183 (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1915); Klabund [pseud.], *Li=tai=pe: Nachdichtungen von Klabund*, no. 201 (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1916).

<sup>169</sup> Ullmann's relationship with Dr. Emil Utitz is outlined in chapter 2. Miriam Intrator, "'People were Literally Starving for any Kind of Reading': The Theresienstadt Ghetto Central Library, 1942-1945," *Library Trends* (Winter 2007): 513-5.

<sup>170</sup> Mahler also used Chinese poetry for the cycle *Das Lied von der Erde* (The Song of the Earth), which was composed at the time he was aware of his impending death. Tristram Pugin, "Ullmann: 4 Songs from *Liederbuch des Hafis*, op. 30; *Der Mensch und sein Tag*, op. 47; 'Herbst,' Lied mit Streichtrio (Trakl); 6 Songs from *Geistliche Lieder*, op. 20; *Drei Lieder; Drei Chinesischen Lieder*; 'Wendla im Garten'; 'Little Cakewalk' by Petr Matuszek; Aleš Kaňka; Pavel Eret; Libor Kaňka; Vladan Koči; Viktor Ullmann," *Tempo* 210 (1999): 52.

<sup>171</sup> *Der Kreidekreis* is discussed in chapter 2. Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 92.

<sup>172</sup> Alexander Zemlinsky's relationship with Ullmann is discussed in chapter 2. Lorraine Gorrell, *Discordant Melody: Alexander Zemlinsky, His Songs, and the Second Viennese School* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 133.

Ullmann signed *Drei chinesische Lieder* as complete with “Oktober 43” (October 1943). The title implies that Ullmann intended for there to be three songs in this cycle, yet there are only two pieces in *Drei chinesische Lieder*, “Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge” (A Traveler Awakes in a Hostel) and “Der müde Soldat” (The Tired Soldier). In Schott’s published score, this cycle is titled “<Zwei> Chinesische Lieder” (Two Chinese Songs) because of the missing third song of the set.<sup>173</sup> In a letter dated June 15, 1973, Hans Günther Adler (1910-88), steward of Ullmann’s Theresienstadt manuscripts, responded to Joža Karas’ earlier inquiries on music in Theresienstadt. Adler wrote that there were only two songs in *Drei chinesische Lieder*.<sup>174</sup> It is likely that Ullmann never composed the third song of the cycle.

*“Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge” (A Traveler Awakes in a Hostel)*

The first piece in *Drei chinesische Lieder* contains a melodic line that plays out like a chromatic cradle song with long and gently flowing phrases, connecting the melody and the poetry’s theme of a traveler awakening in confusion. With a wide range of G3 to F5 and a tessitura of C<sup>b</sup>4 to F5, this song fits well within Ullmann’s oeuvre in the exploration of vocal color. Abundant chromaticism is the result of the use of non-chord tones and lack of key signature. Ullmann uses a ‘sigh motive’ consisting of an ascending minor-third followed immediately by a descending major-seventh to unify the piece, first occurring in the vocal line in m. 2, on the word *geblendet* (blinded) as demonstrated in

---

<sup>173</sup> Ullmann, *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, 175.

<sup>174</sup> The Adler estate held Ullmann’s Theresienstadt works until 2002. Details on Ullmann’s manuscripts are discussed in chapters 1 and 2. “Theresienstadt (Korrespondenzen u.a.),” Sammlung H.G. Adler, Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach am Neckar, Germany.

figure 3.7. A variation of this motive occurs twice in the vocal line in mm. 8-10. The ‘sigh motive’ repeats in several mutations throughout the piano accompaniment. In Ullmann’s 1936 *Erste Klaviersonate* (First Piano Sonata), op. 10, he uses this same ‘sigh motive’ as the basis for the second movement. This movement is dedicated “In memoriam Gustav Mahler” (In memoriam of Gustav Mahler), twenty-five years after Mahler’s death.<sup>175</sup>

Figure 3.7. V. Ullmann, *Drei chinesische Lieder*, “Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge,” mm. 1-2.



The lyric melodic line contains rather large intervallic leaps that explore all three vocal registers. Ullmann cleverly uses text painting throughout the piece. In mm. 8-12, the vocal line slowly descends with the text “Ist es Reif, der über Nacht den Boden weiß befiel?” (Is it frost that fell white on the ground overnight?), and ends with a descending-minor sixth on *befiel* (fell). The end of the final vocal phrase, in mm. 22-23, rests on the vocal line’s lowest pitch with the final syllable of *Wanderziel* (wandering’s destination),

<sup>175</sup> Viktor Ullmann, *Ullmann: Klaviersonaten*, vol. 1, ed. by Konrad Richter (New York: Schott, 2001), 12-22.

ending at the traveler's destination. Despite the frequent use of chromaticism and non-chord tones in "Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge," A<sup>b</sup>-minor chords anchor the tonality every few measures. Overlapping phrases in the voice and piano accompaniment prevent a proper cadence until the coda finally rests on an A<sup>b</sup>-minor chord. The dissonant harmonies and overlapping phrases help to reinforce the confusion and disorientation in the poetry.

To match the mood of a quiet moonlit night, Ullmann gives the piece a tempo of *Sehr ruhig* (very calm) and indicates *sehr zart* (very sweet) at m. 8 followed by *dolce* (sweet) at m. 10 as demonstrated in figure 3.8. A mixture of simple-triple, simple-quadruple, duple-compound, and irregular meters are used to match the prosody. All of the time signature changes are indicated by Ullmann in the manuscript. His melodic rhythmic choices are quite complex and stress important words in the text. The slow triplets in the last vocal phrase, mm. 18-23, work against the rhythms of the piano accompaniment, creating cross-rhythms that contribute to the unsettled feeling. The triplets engender unification in the piece, and occur in mm. 4, 5, and 7 in the piano's postlude.<sup>176</sup>

---

<sup>176</sup> All dynamic markings in the Schott score are in the manuscript, none are editorial. Viktor Ullmann, *Drei chinesische Lieder*, October 1943, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

Figure 3.8. V. Ullmann, *Drei chinesische Lieder*, “Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge,” mm. 8-10.

The musical score for measures 8-10 of "Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge" by V. Ullmann is presented. The vocal line (soprano) begins with a rest in measure 8, then sings "Ist es Reif, der über Nacht den Boden weiß be-". The piano accompaniment (piano) features a slow chord-to-chord harmonic movement with non-chord tones providing tension. Dynamics include "sehr zart" and "dolce" for the vocal line, and "ppp" and "pp" for the piano accompaniment.

In this piece, Ullmann establishes equality between the piano and the voice. The accompaniment in “Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge” not only provides support to the voice, but works as a collaborator and contributes equally in the storytelling. The piano performs alone in more than half of the thirty total measures. The slow chord-to-chord harmonic movement underneath the voice creates the accompaniment texture. Non-chord tones provide tension, and therefore, interest in the accompaniment. There is no prelude, but two interludes and a postlude give the piece its structure. The first interlude, in mm. 5-8, has a similar phrase structure as mm. 1-4 of the vocal line. In mm. 11-18, the second interlude follows the phrase pattern of the first interlude as the piano comments on the previous vocal phrase by using similar rhythm and pitch structures and ends by overlapping into the third phrase of the vocal line.

The tempo is slowed through the use of elongated rhythms in the postlude, mm. 23-30, and the aforementioned ‘sigh motive’ in mm. 28-29 gives the piece closure as the piano’s melody sinks to the final A<sup>b</sup>-minor chord. Ullmann uses the ‘sigh motive’ not only to unify the piece, but also to intensify the emotion of the text in the piano accompaniment through the use of shared material with the voice. This ‘sigh motive’

appears in some variation in the right hand of the piano accompaniment in mm. 11-12, 17-18, 19, and 28-29. Demonstrated in figure 3.9, the repetition of the ‘sigh motive,’ in mm. 8-10 of the vocal line, corresponds to the question, “Ist es Reif, der über Nacht...” (Is it frost, that overnight...), that is repeated again and again in the piano accompaniment. This occurs in the right hand of the piano in mm. 11-12 and mm. 17-18 with the repetition of this motive at varying pitch levels, and a shortened version of the motive appears in mm. 28-29. In this context, frost could represent several themes: light and hope, cold and death, and man versus nature.

Figure 3.9. V. Ullmann, *Drei chinesische Lieder*, “Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge,” mm. 15-24.

The musical score for measures 15-24 of "Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge" by V. Ullmann is presented in two systems. The first system (measures 15-19) shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins with a rest in measure 15, followed by the lyrics "Ich schau in den Mond," in measure 16. The piano accompaniment features a "sigh motive" in the right hand, marked *ppp* in measure 15 and *p* in measure 16. The second system (measures 20-24) continues the vocal line with the lyrics "— nei — ge das Haupt, denk' an mein Wan — der — ziel." and the piano accompaniment, which includes dynamic markings *dim.* and *pp*. The score is written in 3/4 time and includes various musical notations such as rests, notes, and triplets.

Vocal doubling occurs quite frequently in the piano line, assisting the singer with the challenging intervals chosen by Ullmann to set this evocative text. The singer should

be aware that occasionally, because of the use of cross-rhythms, the melodic line in the piano accompaniment does not correspond rhythmically with the melodic vocal line. The texture of the piano accompaniment remains the same throughout the piece with the exception of the thinning of the accompaniment leading into the final vocal phrase in mm. 16-17, as demonstrated in figure 3.9.

The original poem for this piece was written by the eighth-century Chinese poet Li-Tai-Po (701-762), considered one of the greatest Chinese poets of the T'ang dynasty.<sup>177</sup> His poetry is revered for its evocative imagery, use of allusion, cadence, and fluid word choice.<sup>178</sup> “Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge” describes the experience of being on a journey and the feeling of disorientation often experienced when waking in an unfamiliar place far from home. The poet awakes to see the reflection of the moon upon the floor and wonders if it is frost. It must be a cool or even cold time of year if the moonlight could potentially be mistaken for frost. Looking up at the moon reminds the poet of his home far away. The original poem, 静夜思, is well-known in China and directly translates into English from Chinese as:

---

<sup>177</sup> The *KZ Musik, CD 4* liner notes incorrectly list this cycle as having, “Lyrics by unknown.” *KZ Musik, Encyclopedia of Music Composed in Concentration Camps (1933-1945)*, vol. 1, vol. 2, and vol. 4, *iTunes* (accessed May 19, 2012).

<sup>178</sup> *Merriam Webster's Biographical Dictionary*, 1987 ed., s.v. “Li Po,” [http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currentPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&source=&search\\_within\\_results=&action=e&catId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CK1680098265&userGroupName=munc80314&jsid=ff0b7e9c9b0609b322f1b47e75af4936](http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currentPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&source=&search_within_results=&action=e&catId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CK1680098265&userGroupName=munc80314&jsid=ff0b7e9c9b0609b322f1b47e75af4936) (accessed July 29, 2013).



### On a Quiet Night

I saw the moonlight before my couch,  
And wondered if it were not the frost on the ground.  
I raised my head and looked out on the mountain moon;  
I bowed my head and thought of my far-off home.<sup>179</sup>

This translation gives a slightly different perspective than the English translation of the Chinese poem through the German translation used by Ullmann.

The poetic imagery of a lone homesick traveler spoke directly to Ullmann and his Theresienstadt circumstances. He set the text using music that evokes the confusion, loneliness, and disorientation described in the poetry. Ullmann changed the Klabund translation in the third line of the poem from “Hebe das Haupt – blick in den strahlenden Mond” (I raise my head and look out at the bright moon) to “Ich schau in den Mond” (I look at the moon).<sup>180</sup> This change darkens the overtone of the text. Less action is necessary in only looking at the moon, and the moon is no longer bright. It could be that Ullmann did not wish to reference the proactive movement of rising up to look or find the imagery of a bright moon appropriate, as nothing seemed bright to Ullmann in the unjust prison of Theresienstadt.

Ullmann used the through-composed form to illustrate the journey of the lonely traveler. The influence of Gustav Mahler is apparent in the vocal line of “Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge” in the similarities between Mahler’s “Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen,” no. 5 (I am Lost to the World, no. 5), from *Fünf Rückertlieder*

---

<sup>179</sup> *The Works of Li Po the Chinese Poet Done into English Verse by Shigeyoshi Obata*, introduction and biographical and critical matter translated from the Chinese (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1928), 55.

<sup>180</sup> A translation of “Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge” is located in appendix 1. Klabund [pseud.], *Chinesische Gedichte: Nachdichtungen von Klabund*, 65.

(Five Rückert Songs) in the themes of both texts, the balance and interplay of the accompaniment to the vocal line, and the use of shared material and motives between the voice and accompaniment.

*“Der müde Soldat” (The Tired Soldier)*

The vivid description of the burdens and horrors of war explored in “Der müde Soldat” are an example of Ullmann’s resistance to the conditions of Theresienstadt. The melody of the second song of *Drei chinesische Lieder* is quite angular with irregular-length phrases that overlap. Ullmann explores the colors of the human voice within a range of G<sup>#</sup>3 to F<sup>#</sup>5 and a tessitura of C<sup>#</sup>4 to F<sup>#</sup>5. “Der müde Soldat” is highly chromatic and opens with the motive C<sup>#</sup>4-D5-B<sup>#</sup>5, C<sup>#</sup>5-D4 on the text “Ein kahles Mädchen...” (A bald girl...). This opening motive repeats in mm. 25-26 of the vocal line and is lowered by a third in the left hand of the piano mm. 32-33. The opening motive appears in figure 3.10. In mm. 22-24, a variation of this motive (G<sup>#</sup>3-E4-B<sup>#</sup>4, A5-G<sup>#</sup>4) is heard first in the right hand of the piano and then overlaps with an exact repetition in the vocal line. The melodic shape is lyric and angular, as demonstrated in the opening motive, and supports the overall meaning of the text. Text painting occurs as a result of an interaction between the vocal line and the piano accompaniment. To emphasize the overwhelming feeling of exhaustion, the tempo slows at the *poco ritardando* in m. 20 with the text “und müde... müde von dem vielen Tod” (and tired... tired of the many dead).

Figure 3.10. V. Ullmann, *Drei chinesische Lieder*, “Der müde Soldat,” m. 1-3.

**Ruhig beginnen**

Ein kah - les Mäd - chen. Heckenblaß ent - laubt. Sie steht am

Harmonically, the thick texture at the beginning of the piece aligns with the imagery of ranks of people thickly lined-up and the soldier being peppered with knives while dealing with all-encompassing fatigue. The texture thins at m. 22 when the soldier relaxes and reflects on children, nature, and sleep. Ullmann repeats the pitch-class C<sup>#</sup> and C<sup>#</sup> sonorities often enough for this pitch to function as tonic, yet the song remains highly chromatic and dissonant. Cadences are few because of the overlapping phrases. At cadence points, Ullmann creates unconventional chordal structures, often by stacking two chords together. For example, in mm. 8-9, an augmented F chord is stacked on top of an E<sup>b</sup>-major chord with non-chord tones added. The final cadence is a cluster of pitches that can be stacked in thirds. The lowest sounding pitches, C<sup>#</sup> and G<sup>#</sup>, establish the key of C<sup>#</sup> minor. The unsettled harmonies of “Der müde Soldat” reinforce the text of the soldier’s frustration and exhaustion with the horrors of war.

Ullmann opens the piece with the tempo *Ruhig beginnen* (begin calmly) and then in m. 20 slows with a *poco ritardando*. At m. 23, the tempo changes again to *Ruhiger* (more tranquil). The powerful poetry is reined in by the pensive tempo and lends an air of

reflection to the frustration and exhaustion felt by the soldier. Ullmann switches the metric organization between simple-duple, simple-quadruple, and simple-triple meters to fit the needs of the prosody. Groups of four quarter notes are repeated throughout the vocal line and piano accompaniment. Eighth-note triplet figures in the first and last stanzas bring unity to the piece. This triplet figure and the repeated eighth notes in the accompaniment function as an ostinato that drive the motion of the song forward.<sup>181</sup> The rhythms vary often and add interest with dotted rhythms supporting the proper syllabic stresses in the text. Rhythmic patterns of two-against-three between the piano and the vocal line add to the tensions referenced in the text.

“Der müde Soldat” has no prelude and only a short interlude and postlude. The differences in the treatments of the piano accompaniments in the songs of this cycle balance nicely. The interlude in “Der müde Soldat” occurs between the first and second verse in mm. 7-9 and transitions between the rank-and-file imagery and the questioning of the overwhelmed soldier. The postlude closes with the motive from the opening and leads down to the C<sup>#</sup> in the bass of the final chord. Ullmann supports the singer through mirroring the vocal line with the exact pitches and rhythms in the right hand of the piano accompaniment and gives the vocalist the opening C<sup>#</sup> at the beginning. There are occasions when the same pitch class appears in the accompaniment, yet caution must be observed as the vocal and piano melodies do not always align rhythmically. The accompaniment texture varies based on what occurs in the right hand and the forward

---

<sup>181</sup> In the piano accompaniment of “Der müde Soldat,” not all the repeated triplet figures in the left hand are written out in the manuscript, but are repeated with the use of shorthand. Repeated pitches in the left hand of the piano are often written as half notes. Ullmann, *Drei chinesische Lieder*, October 1943, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

moving ostinato pattern in the left hand. The piano melody in the right hand sometimes supports the voice and at other times functions as a countermelody. Ullmann uses a triplet figure as a distinctive dramatic effect to evoke images of snare-drum rolls and the marching of soldiers. The theme of a soldier, exhausted from war, is also found in Ullmann's Theresienstadt opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49.<sup>182</sup>

Like "Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge," the text of this piece is from Klabund's translations of Chinese poetry by an anonymous poet from Shi Jing's *Book of Odes*.<sup>183</sup> Ullmann chose this poem with the utmost sensitivity to the text in regard to the imagery that paralleled his situation in Theresienstadt and even foreshadowed what was to come at Auschwitz, especially in the first seven measures. In m. 2, the word *Heckenbläß* directly translates as "pale-hedge." In German, this word is a descriptor for flora and is not an adjective used for people, but in this case its use emphasizes the dehumanization of those who are forced to stand in straight rows with their heads shaved bald, like sheered hedges in a garden. Additionally, the word *Heckenbläß* is similar to the German word *Leichenbläß*, meaning "cadaverous." This word association suggests rows of corpses and aligns perfectly with the text of the poem and with the harsh reality of Ullmann's surroundings in the ghetto. At the time of composition, Ullmann would have been unaware of the details of what was happening in the extermination camps to the east, yet by choosing this poem he foreshadowed coming events with surprising accuracy.

---

<sup>182</sup> *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Tod Verweigerung* (The Emperor of Atlantis or Death's Refusal), op. 49, is discussed at length in chapter 4. Ullmann, *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, vii.

<sup>183</sup> Klabund [pseud.], *Chinesische Gedichte: Nachdichtungen von Klabund*, 8.

There is only one word change from Klabund's translation to Ullmann's text, *und* (and) is changed to *was* (what) in the line "was von des Dorfes Abendrot" (what of the sunset of the village) in mm. 13-15. This change does not alter the meaning of the text, but may have been made to mirror the previous line of the poem that also begins with *was* (what).<sup>184</sup> The form of "Der müde Soldat" is ternary (ABA'), although the final A' section is varied to such an extent that it only contains shadows of the beginning A section.

Common themes in the cycle *Drei chinesische Lieder* are sleep, frustration, and confusion. The work demonstrates Arnold Schoenberg's influence in the disjunct vocal lines and the thin texture in the piano accompaniment. The influence of Zemlinsky can be heard in the exotic themes.<sup>185</sup> Mahler's influence, especially from *Fünf Rückertlieder*, is present in the vocal line of both pieces in the cycle. Ullmann took great care with the manuscript for *Drei chinesische Lieder*. It is an exceptionally clean copy that appears in an almost identical form to Schott's published score. Each note, accent, dynamic marking, accidental, and breath mark is written with the greatest care by Ullmann.<sup>186</sup> Both of the pieces in this cycle are difficult, yet appropriate for graduate-level performance and study.

---

<sup>184</sup> Klabund [pseud.], *Chinesische Gedichte: Nachdichtungen von Klabund*, 8.

<sup>185</sup> Mullen, "The Lieder of Viktor Ullmann: *Sechs Geistliche Lieder*," 49; *Viktor Ullmann Lieder*, Orfeo International Music GmbH, München. C 380 952 H. 1995, liner notes.

<sup>186</sup> Ullmann, *Drei chinesische Lieder*, October 1943, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

*Immer inmitten*, Solo-Kantate nach Gedichten von Hans Günther Adler  
(Always in the Midst, Solo Cantata with Poetry by Hans Günther Adler)

Ullmann described *Immer inmitten* (Always in the Midst) as a “Solo-Kantate nach Gedichten von Hans Günther Adler für Mezzosopran und Klavier” (solo cantata with poetry by Hans Günther Adler for mezzo-soprano and piano).<sup>187</sup> Adler was imprisoned with Ullmann in Theresienstadt and wrote these poems with the aid of a typewriter expressly for Ullmann to set. Adler, like Ullmann, was born in Bohemia and raised in a secular Jewish home. Like a majority of the German-speaking secular Jewish community of Bohemia, Adler was well-educated and held a PhD from the German University of Prague. Unlike Ullmann, he survived the Holocaust, and following World War II, emigrated to Great Britain after finding life in post-World War II Prague unsuitable. Adler was an award-winning poet, freelance writer, and scholar. After his move to Great Britain, Adler published a volume detailing the intricacies of the ghetto, *Theresienstadt, 1941-1945, Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft, Zweite Auflage* (Theresienstadt, 1941-1945, The Continence of a Forced Coexistence and Second Constraint) in 1955.<sup>188</sup> Adler was the steward of many Theresienstadt original creative documents, such as poetry, artwork, and music manuscripts, including the Theresienstadt works of Ullmann.

---

<sup>187</sup> *Immer inmitten* is the only work covered in this guide that was specifically designated by Ullmann as being composed for mezzo-soprano. Ullmann, *Immer inmitten*, October 30, 1943, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>188</sup> Adler was one of the first Holocaust survivors to write and publish based upon his Holocaust experiences. His novel, *Eine Reise* (A Journey), illuminates the experiences of a secular Jewish family. Published in 1962, this novel was written before knowledge of Nazi World War II concentration camps was widespread or had been thoroughly researched. Because the story is told from the perspective of a secular Jewish family, it was not readily accepted by the Jewish community at the time of publication. *Contemporary Authors Online, Biography in Context*, s.v. “H.G. Adler,” [http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&search\\_within\\_results=&p=BIC1&action=e&atId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CH1000000644&source=Bookmark&u=munc80314&jsid=d170cd09154ad2c0f15e63ccdb4b3f7b](http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&search_within_results=&p=BIC1&action=e&atId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CH1000000644&source=Bookmark&u=munc80314&jsid=d170cd09154ad2c0f15e63ccdb4b3f7b) (accessed December 5, 2013).

He was heavily involved in the Amsterdam 1975 premiere of Ullmann's opera, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49.<sup>189</sup>

The poem for the cantata's first piece and source of the work's title, "Immer inmitten" (Always in the Midst), was written on May 31, 1943, while the second piece's poem, "Vor der Ewigkeit" (In the Face of Eternity), was written earlier in February of 1943. Adler wrote two additional poems, "Abschied" (Farewell) and "Es ist Zeit" (It is Time), that were to be included in the cantata, but were either not set by Ullmann or whose scores have since been lost.<sup>190</sup> The cantata's title page, written in Ullmann's hand, lists the titles of all four poems.<sup>191</sup> Ullmann signed *Immer inmitten* with the date October 30, 1943. In Adler's post-Theresienstadt letters that discuss Ullmann's manuscripts, Adler does not make any reference to music manuscripts for "Abschied" and "Es ist Zeit."<sup>192</sup>

Ullmann likely abandoned the idea of setting the last two of the four Adler poems, as indicated by the work's premiere by Hedda Grab-Kernmayer in Theresienstadt under the title *Zwei Lieder auf Text von Hans Günther Adler* (Two Songs with Text by Hans Günther Adler).<sup>193</sup> Grab-Kernmayer was an opera and oratorio mezzo-soprano in and

---

<sup>189</sup> Sammlung H. G. Adler, Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach am Neckar, Germany.

<sup>190</sup> The texts and translations for "Abschied" and "Es ist Zeit" are available in appendix II. The theme of "Abschied" is similar to the theme of Emperor Overall's farewell aria in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49. Ingo Schultz, "Wege und Irrwege der Ullmann-Forschung," in Hans-Günter Klein, ed, *Viktor Ullmann—Die Referate des Symposiums...* vol. 12 of *Verdrängte Musik—NS-verfolgte Komponisten und ihre Werke* (Hamburg: von Bockel Verlag, 1996), 33.

<sup>191</sup> Viktor Ullmann, *Immer inmitten*, October 30, 1943, H.G. Adler Collection, King's College London Archives, London, England.

<sup>192</sup> "Theresienstadt (Korrespondenzen u.a.)," Sammlung H.G. Adler, Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach am Neckar, Germany.

<sup>193</sup> Ullmann, *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, 236-7.



around Prague before her deportation to Theresienstadt. She was deeply involved in Theresienstadt's *Freizeitgestaltung* (Administration of Leisure Activities) and was praised by Ullmann for her "große und doch schmiegsame Stimme" (large and yet supple voice) in Ullmann's Theresienstadt review of a concert of music by Czech composers.<sup>194</sup> Grab-Kernmayer survived Theresienstadt and emigrated to the United States via Great Britain.<sup>195</sup> The texts of all four Adler poems demonstrate the overwhelming feelings of frustration felt by both Adler and Ullmann in Theresienstadt.

*"Immer inmitten" (Always in the Midst)*

Ullmann's setting of "Immer inmitten" accentuates the exasperation depicted in Adler's words, especially in the setting of the repetition of the text *immer inmitten* (always in the midst) at the beginning and end of each of the three verses. With each verse, Ullmann illustrates the deepening frustration of being confined to a place against his will by increasing dissonance and thickening textures, and by increasing the intensity of the piano accompaniment. The melodic contour of "Immer inmitten" is quite angular and agitated with long phrases that rise and fall according to the prosody. Ullmann explores the vocal color possibilities in this song through the wide tessitura (C4 to G5) and even wider range (A4 to B<sup>b</sup>6). This work is highly chromatic, although C-minor chords are repeated throughout the piece, and accidentals and enharmonics are used frequently. Adler's poem contains twelve repeated occurrences of the text *immer*

---

<sup>194</sup> The cultural life of those in Theresienstadt is detailed in chapter 2. Viktor Ullmann, 26 *Kritiken über Musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt*, vol. 3 of *Verdrängte Musik—NS-verfolgte Komponisten und ihre Werke* (Neumünster, Germany: von Bockel Verlag, 2011), 53.

<sup>195</sup> Ullmann, 26 *Kritiken über Musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt*, 126.

*inmitten*, which borders on the obsessive. Ullmann often ends phrases with a descending tritone in the vocal line, which could be a reference to the paired tritones in Czech composer Joseph Suk's Symphony in C Minor, op. 27 (1906), or *Asrael* Symphony. In Suk's symphony, these tritones are referred to as the 'death motive.'<sup>196</sup> Ullmann surrounds the text *immer inmitten* with change and uncertainty through the use of constantly changing harmonies and rhythms. For the purposes of clarity, this motive will be referred to as the 'always motive.' The motive appears in conjunction with the *immer inmitten* text and is manipulated throughout the song, as seen in m. 4 in both the vocal line and in the upper voice of the piano, and is then repeated in m. 5. The 'always motive' contains a jarring combination of eighth and sixteenth notes, major and minor seconds, and a descending tritone as seen in figure 3.11.

Figure 3.11. V. Ullmann, *Immer inmitten*, "Immer inmitten," mm. 1-4.

The musical score for V. Ullmann's "Immer inmitten" (mm. 1-4) is presented in 8/8 time. The tempo is marked "Kräftig bewegt". The score includes a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins with a descending tritone in measure 4, which is the 'always motive'. The piano accompaniment features a complex rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, with dynamics ranging from *ff* to *p*. The score is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat).

<sup>196</sup> Asrael is the Islamic mythological angel who escorts the souls of the dead. Ullmann uses this motive often in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49. For more on this motive, please see chapter 4. Bloch, "'No One Can Rob of Us Our Dreams': Solo songs from Terezín," 78.

The first and second verses begin and end with double statements of the ‘always motive’ corresponding with the *immer inmitten* text, while the third verse begins with a slightly abbreviated ‘always motive’ at a higher pitch level in m. 36, demonstrated in figure 3.12. In verse three, the second repetition of *immer inmitten* in m. 37 expresses a variation of the ‘always motive’ while retaining the same rhythm. At the end of each verse is a repetition of the text *immer inmitten* along with the ‘always motive’ that changes in pitch level. Verse three concludes with homage to the beginning of the piece as m. 44 exactly repeats m. 4. The final statement of *immer inmitten* begins at a lower pitch level than the previous statements of this text and descends to B<sup>b</sup>4, possibly indicating resignation, especially in the slowing tempo and the release and resolution of tension.

Figure 3.12. V. Ullmann, *Immer inmitten*, “Immer inmitten,” mm. 36-38.

The musical score for V. Ullmann's 'Immer inmitten' (mm. 36-38) is presented in 3/8 time. The vocal line (treble clef) and piano accompaniment (grand staff) are shown. The vocal line begins in measure 36 with the lyrics 'Im - mer in - mit - ten, im - mer in - mit - ten, kommt schla - fend der Tod - in - das -'. The piano accompaniment features a prominent 'ff' (fortissimo) dynamic in measure 36, followed by a 'p' (piano) dynamic in measure 37, and a 'ff' dynamic in measure 38. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and a triplet in measure 38.

The vocal articulation of this piece creates an intense lyric melody that is far from simple, yet manifests itself as a beautiful melodic line. An example of text painting takes place in the second verse at mm. 27-28 when the melodic line ascends to A<sup>b</sup>6, the highest

pitch of the piece, on the word *Braus* (noise), with the text, “endigt ihm einmal gespenstischer Braus” (a once-ghostly noise ended it for him). The repetition of the text *immer inmitten* in conjunction with the ‘always motive’ functions as text painting through the illustration of perpetual sameness. Ullmann heightens the tension for this text in mm. 12 and 13 through the use of chromaticism and the thickening of the texture, as seen in figure 3.13. In mm. 42-43 of the third strophe, the text “Sagen kann niemand, was morgen nun wird” (No one can tell what tomorrow will bring) starts at G5 and descends to B<sup>b</sup>5 instead of building to the end of the strophe, demonstrating the resignation felt by those imprisoned in Theresienstadt. The harmonic texture of “Immer inmitten” is tonal, yet Ullmann uses chromaticism, seventh chords, and non-chord tones to sustain dissonance and provide forward momentum. He uses minor sonorities peppered with non-chord tones that add color and provide tension. After their respective interludes, the first verse ends with an A-minor-seventh chord and the second verse cadences on an augmented C chord with an added ninth. The final cadence of “Immer inmitten” occurs on a C-minor-seventh chord.

Figure 3.13. V. Ullmann, *Immer inmitten*, “Immer inmitten,” mm. 11-13.

The *Kräftig bewegt* (strongly animated) opening tempo slows in the last measure of each verse, while each interlude begins *a tempo*. At the end of the piece, the *ritardando* in m. 45 extends into the first measure of the postlude before returning to *a tempo* for the last two measures. The piece is in a duple compound meter with the exception of m. 36, which contains one less beat, creating an irregular meter of 5/8. Shortening this measure by one beat creates tension and gives variety to the final strophe through the manipulation of the ‘always motive.’ Sixteenth and eighth notes dominate, unify, and reinforce the text in the song, especially in the ‘always motive.’ The second verse contains a repeated triplet figure in the right hand of the piano accompaniment that drives the piece forward in mm. 19-20 and continues in mm. 25-28.

The predominant accompaniment figures for the work are manifested in the rhythm, harmony, and mood of the ‘always motive.’ Ullmann begins “Immer inmitten” with a three-measure prelude, introducing the main motive of the piece. The first interlude, in mm. 16-18, expands upon the ideas presented in the prelude as m. 17 repeats

ideas first presented in m. 3 and m. 18 leads into the second verse by ascending slowly in the right hand through the same half-step motion present in the ‘always motive.’ The second interlude, in mm. 31-35, expands upon the first interlude and the triplets in m. 35 create tension, especially when coupled with the fermata and breath mark at the end of this measure. In mm. 33-35, the repetition of sixteenth-note rhythms in the left hand of the piano function as an ostinato through the use of parallel octaves as the song progresses through the second interlude into the final verse.<sup>197</sup> The three-measure postlude is similar to the prelude and the first interlude in the use of melodic and rhythmic material; m. 47 is similar to both mm. 3 and 17. Each section without voice forms symmetry within the framework of the three verses. Ullmann finishes “Immer inmitten” with fermatas over dotted-quarter rests in the piano. The placement of fermatas over the rests may symbolize the reality of Ullmann’s unjust imprisonment or be a representation of hopeless silence. The sustained silence gives the audience an opportunity for reflection on the performance and should be observed by the performers for as long as the situation allows.

Ullmann offers pitch support in the piano by mirroring the vocal line. However, the right hand of the piano contains a countermelody, and sometimes rhythmically strays from the vocal line. The ‘always motive’ appears in the prelude immediately before it is sung in m. 4. Underneath the ‘always motive’ in the vocal line, the piano accompaniment mirrors the voice in the top line of the right hand in mm. 4, 5, 14, 29, and 30. Both piano interludes contain this motive. In the second interlude, the manipulation of the ‘always

---

<sup>197</sup> It is important that the pianist and vocalist work out a system so that both musicians begin simultaneously at m. 36, following the fermata.

motive' contributes to the frenzied impression that occurs before resting at the fermata in m. 35.

The 'always motive' illustrates the text, mood, and atmosphere of the piece. The accompaniment drives the movement of the piece forward through the arpeggiated, running sixteenth-note pattern in the right hand of the piano, while the left hand moves in a chordal step-wise fashion. The linear texture maintains the tension throughout the piece. The trills and accents that occur in both the introduction and the coda create drama. The high dynamic contrasts demonstrate the changes in mood and convey the frustration displayed in the text as the dynamics move from *fortissimo* to *piano* in the first four measures; the piece contains occurrences of both *sforzato* and *sforzando*, specifically in the piano accompaniment.

As stated earlier, Adler wrote four poems for the text to this cycle. Themes found in "Immer inmitten" are found in other texts chosen by Ullmann, such as being far from home, suffering, hidden danger, despair, hopelessness, uncertainty, sleep, and death. Ullmann carefully crafts his prosodic treatment to stress important words and ideas. The text in the first verse "bald streift sie im Moose, bald reißt sie der Dorn" (soon it wanders in the mosses, soon it plucks the thorn), refers to the Nazi ruse of Theresienstadt. In these lines, Adler recalls the experience of walking barefoot through soft mosses and then being stuck by a sharp object from underneath the seemingly harmless and gentle moss. He uses this as a metaphor for the danger and death that lurked in Theresienstadt. The danger did not necessarily lie in violence, but in disease, starvation, and deportation.

In this modified strophic form, all three verses are similar, but are not an exact musical repetition of the first verse with the first and second verses being the most

similar. The piece climaxes at the beginning of the third strophe in intensity through the use of the 5/8 measure, the dynamic levels, and the thickening texture of the piano accompaniment. In “Immer inmitten,” Ullmann quotes Mahler’s “Revelge” (Reveille), no. 6 from *Das Knaben Wunderhorn* (The Youth’s Magic Horn) in the piano accompaniment beneath the text “...kommt schlafend der Tod in das Leben geritten. Prasselnde Weise, seltsam verklirrt. Sagen kann niemand, was morgen nun wird” (...sleeping death comes riding into life. A noisy Wise One, strangely clattering. No one can tell what tomorrow will bring) in mm. 37-43.<sup>198</sup> “Revelge” is a humoresque considered as one of the four “Songs of War” from *Das Knaben Wunderhorn*. The similar themes between “Revelge” and Ullmann’s Theresienstadt works appear in the “Revelge” text: “Ich muß, ich muß marschieren bis in’ Tod ...Des Morgens stehen da die Gebeine in Reih’ und Glied, sich steh’n wie Leichensteine” (I must, I must march on until death... In the morning there stand the skeletons in rank and file, they stand like tombstones).<sup>199</sup> The parallel texts share commonalities with Ullmann’s other Theresienstadt works, “Der müde Soldat” and the opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, especially in the images of death, the undead, and marching in rank and file.<sup>200</sup> The influence of Schoenberg and Zemlinsky are present in Ullmann’s harmonic choices, texture, and themes.

---

<sup>198</sup> Ullmann, *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, vii.

<sup>199</sup> Mahler called “Revelge” a study for the first movement of his Third Symphony in regard to rhythm. Gustav Mahler, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn: Gesänge für eine Singstimme mit Orchesterbegleitung nach dem Text der Kritischen Gesamtausgabe herausgegeben von Renate Stark-Voit unter Mitarbeit von Thomas Hampson*, band 2 (Vienna: Universal Edition A.G., 1999), xxi, xxx, xxxi.

<sup>200</sup> *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, is discussed in detail in chapter 4.



In the manuscript of “Immer inmitten,” Ullmann indicates the time signature changes in addition to the dynamic markings and tempo changes that are in the Schott published score. The Schott editors left out Ullmann’s breath mark between the words *einmal* (once) and *gespenstischer* (ghostly) in m. 27 of the manuscript. Taking a breath here is not physically necessarily, but is necessary to emphasize the text of this phrase, particularly the ‘ghostly noise.’<sup>201</sup> Ullmann marked corrections into the original score.<sup>202</sup>

*“Vor der Ewigkeit” (In the Face of Eternity)*

This three-verse work has similar poetic themes to “Immer inmitten,” and like the other half of this solo cantata, desperation and feelings of hopelessness prevail. The melody of “Vor der Ewigkeit” is rather angular and the use of large intervallic leaps and a high tessitura create tension. Ullmann uses a broad-lined melody to emphasize the weighted phrases. The range is from G<sup>#</sup>3 through to A6 with a tessitura of C4 to G<sup>#</sup>5. This work is highly chromatic in both the vocal line and the piano accompaniment. A ‘triplet motive’ of D-E-D is introduced in m. 2 in both the vocal line and in the right hand of the piano accompaniment (m. 2 is seen in figure 3.14), and is then repeated in m. 6 sounding one third higher. The first variant of the ‘triplet motive’ occurs in m. 26 in both the vocal line and the accompaniment. In mm. 58-59 of the vocal line, the motive is augmented, inverted, and repeated four times in these two measures. Further

---

<sup>201</sup> The text of the phrase in mm. 27-28 of “Immer inmitten” reads: “endigt ihm einmal gespenstischer Braus” (a once ghostly noise ended it for him). The complete translation of “Immer inmitten” is located in appendix I.

<sup>202</sup> Ullmann, *Immer inmitten*, October 30, 1943, H.G. Adler Collection, King’s College London Archives, London, England.

augmentation and manipulation of the ‘triplet motive’ appear in mm. 63 and 68 of the vocal line. Triplets and sextuplets are used throughout the piano accompaniment and are discussed in the following pages.

Figure 3.14. V. Ullmann, *Immer inmitten*, “Vor der Ewigkeit,” mm. 1-3.

**Ruhig schreitende Bewegung**

Was sind die Din - ge die - ser Welt? Was sind die Sa - chen?

The lyric melody of “Vor der Ewigkeit” contains sweeping lines within the phrase structure. Ullmann creates a vocal line that rises in pitch on many of the highly emotional words such as *zerfällt* (decay) in mm. 9-10, *Lust* (desire) in m. 15, and *Gefahr* (danger) in mm. 34-35, instead of using overt text painting. He gives the phrase at m. 40 the inflection of a question by making the final pitch rise at the end of the phrase in m. 44 with the text, “...wo unser Wähnen wahr sich spornt, die Ewigkeit zu rühren?” (...where our true delusions are spurred, to touch eternity?). Additionally, an anticipatory grace note gives stress to the B5 on the last syllable of *rühren* (touch).

Ullmann begins “Vor der Ewigkeit” with a thick, chordal harmonic texture that conveys the heavy subject matter. This thick texture sustains the tension and drives the

piece forward. Occasionally the texture thins when the accompaniment or the melodic line contains arpeggiated chords, and in the last three measures of the piano postlude. Like the previous piece in this cantata, “Vor der Ewigkeit” is highly chromatic with the lack of a key signature and the prolific use of accidentals. The pitch-class C<sup>#</sup> appears frequently, often at the beginning and end of phrases and at the end of piece, but to state that this work is in the key of C<sup>#</sup> would be overstepping. Ullmann makes use of the natural overtone series and frequently uses major- and minor-seventh sonorities with a sprinkling of other tertian harmonies. The first phrase ends with a cadence on a G-major-seventh chord over octave C<sup>#</sup>s in m. 3 as seen in figure 3.14. Verse one ends in m. 20 on a B-minor-seventh chord. Cadences in the second verse are eliminated through the use of phrase overlap between the voice and piano lines with the exception of the A-major-ninth chord in mm. 27-28. The final verse contains a G-major-seventh chord in m.52 and finally rests on a C<sup>#</sup>-minor chord with the fifth repeated in a triplet rhythm in m. 72. The repeated G<sup>#</sup> gives the impression of ending the piece on an unsettled half-cadence. Chromatic shifting and frequent change in harmonies reinforce the angst of the text.

Ullmann varies tempos throughout the piece. The tempo, *Ruhig schreitende Bewegung* (quiet-paced movement), supports the expectation and intensity of the piece before moving on to an *agitato* (agitated) at the end of the first verse in m. 15. The first interlude, marked *tranquillo* (tranquil), brings down the intensity from the first verse, while the second interlude begins with *agitato, ma non accelerando* (agitated, without acceleration), ramping up the works’ energy. The final verse, marked *Tempo I*, closes out the piece in much the same way that it began. Ullmann uses simple-duple, simple-quadruple, and simple-triple meters to set Adler’s text. The three verses open with quarter

notes that contribute to the march-like and plodding nature of the work. As mentioned earlier, Ullmann uses a triplet figure to tie this piece together. The ‘triplet motive’ begins as an eighth-note triplet in the first and second verses, while the third verse’s opening eighth-note triplet is modified by taking on longer and longer note values. In the final verse, the triplet moves from eighth-note triplets, to quarter-note triplets, until finally a half-note triplet appears in m. 68, seen in figure 3.15. This augmentation gives the piece the feeling of a slowing tempo without the tempo actually changing.

Figure 3.15. V. Ullmann, *Immer inmitten*, “Vor der Ewigkeit,” mm. 65-68.

The image shows a musical score for measures 65-68 of V. Ullmann's 'Immer inmitten'. The score is written for voice and piano. The vocal line is in the top staff, and the piano accompaniment is in the bottom two staves. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The time signature is not explicitly shown but is 3/4. The lyrics are: 'Welt fromm zeigt und schlä-fernd hüllt mit ei-nem'. The score features several triplet markings (indicated by a '3' over a bracket) in both the vocal and piano parts. The piano accompaniment includes block chords and arpeggiated figures, particularly in the left hand. The overall texture is dense and rhythmic, reflecting the 'march-like and plodding' nature mentioned in the text.

Ullmann uses dotted rhythms to emphasize the prosody and adds interest through the use of triplets and sextuplets in the piano accompaniment against straight rhythms in the vocal line. The block chords and arpeggiated figures in the piano accompaniment move the piece forward, create interest, and change the mood of the piece throughout the three verses and sections with solo piano. Parallel-octave motion occurs throughout and permeates the left hand of the piano accompaniment in a majority of the measures.

Ullmann does not use a piano introduction and instead, for one beat, the voice sings unsupported. There are two interludes, each occurring between the verses. The first interlude, mm. 20-23, begins with the tempo marking *tranquillo* (tranquil). The sextuplet in the right hand of the accompaniment occurs in both m. 21 and m. 9. In the second interlude, Ullmann uses eighth-note runs in both the right and left hands of the accompaniment in mm. 45-48. In the first interlude, an eighth-note pattern alternates by moving half-step in the left hand (A-B<sup>b</sup>-B, D-C<sup>#</sup>-B), similar to the patterns that are used in the left hand of the second interlude. The three-measure postlude contains the ‘sigh motive’ in both hands of the accompaniment. Throughout the postlude, the repeated G<sup>#</sup> in the bass of the piano and the slowing tempo may symbolize the arrival of death and its victory through *einem Streiche* (a single blow).

“Vor der Ewigkeit” is one of the more difficult pieces to perform of those covered in this guide. Ullmann demonstrates his prowess for vocal composition and gives much needed assistance to the singer through mirroring the vocal line at the same pitch level in most of the piece. Triplets and sextuplets used throughout the piano accompaniment give the piece continuity. As mentioned above, Ullmann uses a descending eighth-note sextuplet motive in mm. 9, 21, 34, and 35. The ‘triplet motive’ permeates the piece and appears in mm. 32-33, 39-41, 57-59, 64-66, and in m. 72 where it expands to quarter-note triplets. In m. 68, half-note triplets emphasize the text and prepare for the previously discussed G<sup>#</sup>s in mm. 70-72, creating distinct dramatic effects in the piece. Within a linear texture, Ullmann uses a wide dynamic range of *pianississimo* to *forte* covering the roller-coaster of emotions in the song, especially in the piano accompaniment.

Adler's poem uses intense mental imagery that paints a picture similar to Ullmann's opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, where suffering is only relieved in death. "Vor der Ewigkeit" contains many question words concentrated in the first verse: *was* (what), *wer* (who), and *wo* (where). Both Ullmann and Adler had every right to question, as those held in Theresienstadt were not criminals—their only crime was being Jewish and their only way to complete the sentence was to die. The text evokes the uncertainty of life or even death in Theresienstadt, especially in the last line of the first verse, "...und wir als Tote nur erwachen?" (...and we awaken only when dead?). The imagery also relates to sleep, eternity, pain, and home. Ullmann set Adler's text exactly without making any changes to the original poem.<sup>203</sup> Ullmann displays his sense of prosody at its best in "Vor der Ewigkeit," and places it on the simple framework of ABA'.

The manuscript of "Vor der Ewigkeit" contains more corrections and edits than other Theresienstadt manuscripts. However, time signature changes are not always indicated in the manuscript, but are evident in the change in the number of beats per measure, as indicated in the Schott published score. All of the tempo changes, dynamics, and phrase marks and breath marks in the Schott score are present in Ullmann's manuscript.<sup>204</sup>

---

<sup>203</sup> There is an em dash at the end of the fourth line of text in the Adler manuscript of the piece after the word *zerfällt* (decay). An em dash appears in the Schott published score of "Vor der Ewigkeit" between "uns" (us) and "verzweigt" (branched-out) that does not appear in either H.G. Adler's original poem or Ullmann's manuscript. Appendix I contains the translation for "Vor der Ewigkeit." "Literarische Produktion aus dem Lagerjahren Originalfassungen 1942-1945," Sammlung H.G. Adler, Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach am Neckar, Germany; Ullmann, *Immer inmitten*, October 30, 1943, H.G. Adler Collection, King's College London Archives, London, England.

<sup>204</sup> Ullmann, *Immer inmitten*, October 30, 1943, H.G. Adler Collection, King's College London Archives, London, England.

Practically speaking, the cantata *Immer inmitten* contains difficult texts, full of intense and raw emotion. Both movements share themes of sleep, longing for home, pain, and death. The vocal line and piano accompaniment demand experienced musicians who are capable of a successful performance of this challenging cantata. A graduate-level vocalist should be able to accurately satisfy the demands of these pieces in performance. Ullmann's harmonic choices give evidence of Mahler's and Schoenberg's inspiration.

### Ullmann as a Song Composer

The works Ullmann composed for voice and piano in Theresienstadt clearly demonstrate his creative abilities as an art song composer and display his appreciation of song as a compositional vehicle. As demonstrated in the pieces discussed in this chapter, Ullmann understood the depth and flexibility of the human voice and beautifully balanced this with his sensitivity to the difficulties singers can encounter with twentieth-century compositional devices. These works illustrate Ullmann's ability to choose and set a text with perception, creativity, and emotional depth. The following chapter discusses the pieces Ullmann composed in Theresienstadt for voice and instrumentation other than piano.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Pieces Originally Orchestrated for String Trio or Full Orchestra

Come Death, you, our honored guest, into the chamber of our hearts.  
Teach us to honor life's desires and the yearnings of our brothers.  
Teach us the holiest of commandments:  
Swear that thou shalt not use the great name of Death in vain!<sup>205</sup>

-No. xviii, Finale, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*  
*oder Die Todverweigerung*, op. 49

This chapter employs a modified version of the methodology used by Carol Kimball in *Song: A Guide to Art Song Style and Literature* as the analytical framework.<sup>206</sup> In addition to Kimball's model, I briefly discuss biographical information about the poet or librettist for each work and address the level of difficulty of each piece. Chapter 1 presents the format of this analysis, and items in this format are only referenced when applicable to the piece in question. The pieces for voice and string trio are published in Schott's 2005 score *Ullmann: Drei Lieder für Singstimme und Streichtrio* (Ullmann: Three Songs for Voice and String Trio) and also are included in Schott's *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier* (Ullmann: Complete Songs for Voice and Piano) with a piano reduction of the string parts. "Arie des Trommlers" (The Drummer's Aria) is published in Schott's 1993 vocal score of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Todverweigerung* (The Emperor of Atlantis or Death's Refusal), op. 49. Appendix I contains all of the texts, International Phonetic Alphabet

---

<sup>205</sup> "Komm Tod, du unser werter Gast, in unsers Herzen Kammer. Lehr uns Lebens Lust und Not in unsern Brüdern ehren, Lehr uns das heiligste Gebot: Du sollst den großen Namen Tod nicht eitel beschwören!" Viktor Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, November 18, 1944, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>206</sup> Carol Kimball, *Song: A Guide to Art Song Style and Literature*, revised ed. (Milwaukee: Hal Leonard, 2005), 3-21.



(IPA) transcriptions, and translations for the pieces discussed in this chapter, and appendix II includes texts and translations that aid in the understanding of the solo concerto *Immer inmitten* (Always in the Midst) and “Arie des Trommlers.” For ease in programming, appendix III lists suggestions for works that pair well with the Ullmann compositions discussed in this guide.

### The Mezzo-Soprano and the String Trio

While in Theresienstadt, Ullmann composed *Lieder der Tröstung* (Songs of Consolation) and “Herbst” (Autumn) for singer, violin, viola, and cello in addition to original songs for voice and piano.<sup>207</sup> None of the available documents indicate whether or not “Herbst” was intended to be a part of *Lieder der Tröstung*. The refined and clean manuscript of “Herbst” differs from the unfinished manuscript of *Lieder der Tröstung*. In Theresienstadt, Ullmann likely intended for the members of the Fröhlich Quartet to perform these works.<sup>208</sup> It remains unclear if there were performances accompanied by string trio of either *Lieder der Tröstung* or “Herbst” in Theresienstadt.<sup>209</sup>

In these works, Ullmann treats the voice as an equal to the strings by creating a four-way partnership between all the musical lines. These works are particularly

---

<sup>207</sup> Hans Krása and Gideon Klein also composed works for string trio in Theresienstadt. Krása’s *Tanz-Trio* (*Dance-Trio*) was composed between 1943 and 1944, and Klein’s *Trio* in three movements was composed in 1944. Ullmann also composed three string quartets in Theresienstadt. Ingo Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008), 195; Viktor Ullmann, *Ullmann: Drei Lieder für Singstimme und Streichtrio* (New York: Schott, 2005), foreword.

<sup>208</sup> The group’s cellist, Friedrich Mark, was the last member of the quartet to arrive at Theresienstadt on April 28, 1943. Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 195.

<sup>209</sup> Ullmann, *Ullmann: Drei Lieder für Singstimme und Streichtrio*, foreword.

demanding for the string players because of the frequent use of double stops. Any singer wanting to perform these works will need to collaborate with accomplished instrumentalists.

*Lieder der Tröstung (Songs of Consolation)*

In a letter to fellow Theresienstadt prisoner Otto Zucker dated June 1, 1943, Ullmann mentions the incomplete cycle, *Lieder der Tröstung* (Songs of Consolation). Ullmann specifically indicated in this letter that the song cycle was composed for voice and string trio:

Ich liebe seit 9 Monaten im Ghetto und habe hier geschrieben: „Musik zu Aeschylus’ Prometheus“, Musik zu ‚Francios Villon’, Streichquartett Nr. III, 3 Lieder mit Klavier, „Lieder der Tröstung“ (mit Streichtrio), 10 jiddische und hebräische Chöre.

(I have already been living in the ghetto for nine months and have composed: “Music for Aeschylus’ Prometheus,” music for “Francois Villon,” String Quartet Nr. III, Three Songs with Piano, “Lieder der Tröstung (mit Streichtrio),” Ten Songs for Yiddish and Hebraic Choir.)<sup>210</sup>

From this correspondence it can be assumed that the cycle was complete, in some form, at the time this letter was written. In the manuscript, the string accompaniment for this cycle exists as a particell sketch where the fourth part is absorbed into the trio through the use of double stops.<sup>211</sup> Ullmann’s manuscripts for this cycle vary little from the piano

---

<sup>210</sup> “Lieder der Tröstung (mit Streichtrio),” translates into English as “Songs of Consolation (with string trio).” Gwyneth Rachel Bravo, “Staging Death: Allegory in the Operas of Erwin Schulhoff and Viktor Ullmann” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2011), 307-8.

<sup>211</sup> A particell sketch is a multi-part score condensed into a four-part piano accompaniment. Viktor Ullmann, *Lieder der Tröstung*, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

reduction available in Schott's compilation of Ullmann's songs, *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*.

Albert Steffen (1884-1963), a fellow follower of anthroposophy, wrote the poetry for *Lieder der Tröstung*. A Swiss essayist, novelist, playwright, and philosopher, Steffen inherited the leadership of Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophic movement after Steiner's death.<sup>212</sup> Ullmann used a play of the same name, by Steffen, as the libretto for his largest work, the opera *Der Sturz des Antichrist* (The Downfall of the Antichrist), op. 9. Few of Steffen's more than seventy writings are available in English translation despite his importance as a Swiss author.<sup>213</sup> An appropriate performance approach to these songs requires a good translation and an understanding of the poetry; appendix I contains the texts, translations, and IPA transcriptions for all of the pieces covered in this guide. His creative work evidences Steffen's interest in Christian mysticism. The poetry Ullmann used for this cycle comes from Steffen's collection, *Der Tröster* (The Consoler), written in 1935. Ullmann was perhaps drawn to these poems because they evoke images of frustration coupled with hope and comfort.<sup>214</sup>

A majority of the commercial recordings of this cycle are made by baritones, but in the manuscripts nothing indicates Ullmann had a *Fach* preference for this cycle other than the inscription at the bottom of "Tote wollen nicht verweilen..." that states, "für

---

<sup>212</sup> Ullmann is one of the only composers who set text by Steffen. See chapter 2 for more information on Albert Steffen and Rudolf Steiner.

<sup>213</sup> *Contemporary Authors Online, Biography in Context*, s.v. "Albert Steffen," [http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&source=&search\\_within\\_results=&action=e&catId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CH1000094616&userGroupName=munc80314&jsid=ea22ff3b95f9dfb06f3867802d303afe](http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&source=&search_within_results=&action=e&catId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CH1000094616&userGroupName=munc80314&jsid=ea22ff3b95f9dfb06f3867802d303afe) (accessed May 16, 2013).

<sup>214</sup> *Tröstung* can be translated as 'comfort.'

tieferer Stimme und Streichtrio” (for lower voice and string trio).<sup>215</sup> In a letter dated June 15, 1973, written to Theresienstadt musicologist Joža Karas, Hans Günther Adler called *Lieder der Tröstung* “two songs for deep voice and string trio.”<sup>216</sup> Both the range and tessitura of the cycle are appropriate for mezzo-soprano.<sup>217</sup>

*“Tote wollen nicht verweilen...” (The Dead Do Not Wish to Linger...)*

In the manuscript, no title is assigned to the first piece of *Lieder der Tröstung*; the title stems from the first line text. The angular melody presented in the vocal line contains both step-wise motion and large intervallic leaps that convey the text’s meaning and demonstrate the diversity of tone color available in the human voice. Irregular phrase lengths add further interest and vary depending upon the prosody. Both the range and tessitura encompass B<sup>b</sup>4 to G<sup>#</sup>5, and the tessitura spans from E4 to D5.<sup>218</sup> This highly chromatic piece lacks a key signature and displays Ullmann’s fascination with the natural-harmonic-series, dissonances, and mixing tonality with atonality. Ullmann uses three pairs of descending eighth notes (E<sup>#</sup>-C<sup>#</sup>, E-C, and C<sup>#</sup>-A), for example in mm. 7-8 as seen in figure 4.1, to serve as the main motive and to give the piece continuity. Variations of the main motive occur in the string interludes and postlude.

---

<sup>215</sup> Viktor Ullmann, *Lieder der Tröstung*, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>216</sup> Adler was entrusted with the task of preserving Ullmann’s Theresienstadt compositions through Dr. Emil Utitz when Ullmann was deported to Auschwitz. More information on Adler, Utitz, and their roles concerning Ullmann’s documents and manuscripts are detailed in chapters 1 and 2. Sammlung H.G. Adler, Letter from H.G. Adler to Joža Karas, June 15, 1973, Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach am Neckar, Germany.

<sup>217</sup> Throughout this guide, range refers to the lowest and highest sounding pitches in the vocal line.

<sup>218</sup> Pitch levels are identified using the system where ‘middle C’ is C4.

Figure 4.1. V. Ullmann, *Lieder der Tröstung*, “Tote wollen nicht verweilen...,” mm. 6-8.



The syllabic lyric recitative style of “Tote wollen nicht verweilen” models speech patterns. Text painting is not overt in the piece; however, there are occasions of implied text painting. An understated example occurs when the melody of the vocal line ascends to G5 when the poetry becomes seemingly hopeful at m. 12 with the text “...und erfüllen so ihr Wesen und genesen” (...and fulfill thus their being and recovery), seen in figure 4.2. The *pianissimo* in m. 12 is the only time Ullmann gives a dynamic marking for the vocal line and may be an indication of timidity and uncertainty in the declaration of a recovery. Ullmann’s demanding scoring requires the singer to execute a G5 on the second syllable of *genesen* (recovery) at a *pianissimo*. The following line starts at the lower sounding F4 where the text references *Wasser* (water) in m. 20 and paints a picture of returning to earth by, descending from the previous E<sup>b</sup>5 in m. 12. In the next phrase, Ullmann subtly emphasizes hopeful words on higher sounding pitches. For example, *Luft* (air) soars to F<sup>#</sup>5, and *Sonne* (sun) sounds a half-step higher on G5.

Figure 4.2. V. Ullmann, *Lieder der Tröstung*, “Tote wollen nicht verweilen...,” mm. 11-13.

The musical score for V. Ullmann's *Lieder der Tröstung* (mm. 11-13) is presented in four staves. The top staff is for the vocal part (Gesang), which begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic and a *rubando* tempo marking. The lyrics "We-sen und ge - ne - sen." are written below the vocal staff. The vocal line is followed by a piano (*pp*) section. The instrumental parts (Vl., Va., Vc.) provide harmonic support with various chordal and broken figures.

Ullmann's alternation between tonality and atonality, caused by the frequent use of non-chord tones and chromaticism as a function of his exploration of overtones, creates the work's dissonant harmonic language. The diatonic and chromatic harmonies combine in the chordal and broken figures contained within the string interludes. Minor and diminished harmonies recur, often as a function of the half-step linear motion of the individual lines rather than through chordal harmonic motion. Of the two cadences in this piece, the first one occurs at m. 17, at the end of the first section, where the strings rest on a B-half-diminished-seventh chord with an added G. This cadence occurs as a result of structure rather than harmonic syntax. Ullmann brings the piece to a close with a final cadence on an A<sup>b</sup>-augmented chord, creating a feeling of timid optimism. The minor, diminished, and dissonant harmonies reinforce the illustrations of death and afterlife in the poetry.

Ullmann did not give a tempo marking at the beginning of the piece. However, the string interludes and postlude have tempo indications, such as *rubando* (in the style of rubato), *bewegt* (moved/agitated), and *ritardando*. An appropriate starting tempo of

*Andante* can be inferred from the text and the existing tempo indications. Additionally, the tempo needs to slow enough to become agitated from the previous tempo at m. 28, where the *bewegt* interlude occurs, and then relax at the subsequent *ritardando*. Ullmann demonstrates his text-setting skills in his alternation of simple-duple and simple-triple meters. The particell sketch manuscript contains no indication of time signatures, but the measures clearly change meters where indicated in the Schott scores. Ullmann uses the metric changes to accommodate the prosody and continues to change meters throughout the postlude. The eighth-note motive, demonstrated in figure 4.2, unifies the work. Ullmann assists the singer with proper syllabic stress by placing dotted-eighth notes on important syllables, demonstrating his understanding of the poem's versification.

The rather thin string trio accompaniment at the beginning of the piece starts with the viola repeating a descending-minor second as a 'sigh motive' (E-E<sup>b</sup>) for the first two measures, as demonstrated in figure 4.3. The manuscript shows the later addition of the viola introduction written below the first score line. Under the voice, chordal harmonies appear in the strings, while linear motion creates the harmonies in the interlude and the postlude. Ullmann allows the singer to ease into the difficult chromatic line beginning in m. 3 by providing the starting pitch, E4, through the 'sigh motive' in the viola introduction. Descending-minor seconds occur frequently throughout the work. The viola solo from the first two measures is slightly modified to E-E<sup>b</sup>, F-E in mm. 18-19. This modification gives the singer the starting pitch, F4, for the second section of the piece. Ullmann assists the singer by supporting the vocal line with some shared material in the violin line at the same pitch level. The voice and violin mirror each other often enough to give the singer support while allowing the violin to participate fully in the trio. For

example, m. 5 of the violin line echoes the first statement of the ‘sigh motive’ in m. 4 of the vocal line. A similar echo effect occurs between the voice and violin with the text “Sonne, selig in dem Lichte” (sun, happy in the light) in mm. 24-25 where the violin line sounds a major third higher, raising the last two eighth notes one octave. The Schott score notes that Ullmann indicated a G4 in the manuscript for the last eighth note of m. 6, but the pitch has been edited to an F4. The G in question could be a mistake in the manuscript as the violin line mirrors the previous pitch in the vocal line and the F resolves the A<sup>b</sup> chord with an added seventh to an A<sup>b</sup>-major chord with the added sixth scale degree.<sup>219</sup> Further examination of the manuscript indicates that the G is, in all probability, an unclearly written F.<sup>220</sup>

Figure 4.3. V. Ullmann, *Lieder der Tröstung*, “Tote wollen nicht verweilen...,” mm. 1-3.

The musical score for Figure 4.3 shows measures 1-3 of the song "Tote wollen nicht verweilen...". The vocal line (Gesang) is in 4/4 time and begins in measure 3 with the lyrics "To - te wol-len nicht ver -". The string accompaniment consists of Violin, Viola, and Violoncello parts. In measures 1 and 2, the strings play a descending eighth-note motive, marked with 'pp' (pianissimo). The Viola part has a 'pp' marking in measure 1. The Violoncello part has a 'pp' marking in measure 3.

The string accompaniment contains, in some variation in mm. 13, 14, 16, 28, 29, 30, 33, and 35, the descending eighth-note motive mentioned in the beginning of this discussion. The viola line in mm. 40-42 presents a shorter two-group version of this

<sup>219</sup> Ullmann, *Ullmann: Drei Lieder für Singstimme und Streichtrio*, 11.

<sup>220</sup> Viktor Ullmann, *Lieder der Tröstung*, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.



motive. A motivic variation to the descending pattern of three groups of paired eighth notes, seen in figure 4.2, first appears in m. 12 in the violin line and repeats in m. 31. In m. 27, the motive appears in slight variation in the violin line. This motivic material adds interest while maintaining forward motion and continuity in the piece.

Ullmann begins the *bewegt* trio interlude after the text “jenseits jeglichem Gewichte” (beyond any burdens). As a Theresienstadt work, the linking of burdens with agitation is understandable. The tempo slows at the subsequent *ritardando* during the last line of text, “Erdenerbe, es ersterbe” (Earth’s legacy, it dies). Thereafter, the piece slows and the volume diminishes, further illustrating this text. Overall, Ullmann uses the string trio to reinforce the mood and atmosphere. He changes the texture of the trio and the linear nature of the interlude at the *bewegt* section to a fugue-like counterpoint; this choice reflects the influence of Baroque-era techniques, as Ullmann was educated in the German-classical tradition.

Steffen’s poem concerns death and souls after death. The themes of the poetry, coupled with Ullmann’s friendship with Steffen, undoubtedly influenced Ullmann’s choice, as many composers chose texts from poets with whom they were acquainted. Ullmann easily establishes his sense of prosody in this setting. Through the use of tessitura, Ullmann chose to stress the more hopeful and optimistic sections in the text, such as “und erfüllen so ihr Wesen und genesen” (and fulfill thus their being and recovery) and “Luft, erlöst von allem sehnen, Sonne, selig in dem Lichte, jenseits jeglichem Gewichte. Erdenerbe, es ersterbe” (Air, redeemed from all longing, sun, happy in the light, beyond any burdens. Earth’s legacy, it dies). The higher tessitura subtly reinforces the text in these lines.

On the framework of an AB-Coda form, a descending minor-second ‘sigh motive’ unifies the work in addition to the previously mentioned descending eighth-note motive. The A section occurs in mm. 1-17, the B section in mm. 18-39, and the coda encompasses mm. 40-44. Ullmann uses a balance and blend of tonality with atonality in the interlude at mm. 13-17. In these measures, the diminished harmonies coupled with the linear motion demonstrate his admiration of the compositions of Berg, as seen in figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4. V. Ullmann, *Lieder der Tröstung*, “Tote wollen nicht verweilen...,” mm. 11-17.

The musical score for Figure 4.4 consists of two systems of staves. The first system covers measures 11 to 17. The vocal part (Gesang) begins in measure 11 with the lyrics "We-sen und ge - ne - sen." and is marked with *pp* and *(rubando)*. The instrumental parts (Vl., Va., Vc.) feature complex harmonic textures with diminished chords and linear motion. The second system shows measures 17 to 19, where the vocal part is silent and the instrumental parts continue with a *p* dynamic.

The manuscript of the first piece in *Lieder der Tröstung* demonstrates some of Ullmann’s compositional process. The addition of the two-measure introduction and the lack of time signatures indicate the unfinished nature of this manuscript. Some of the Theresienstadt manuscripts are meticulously penned with careful attention to detail,

however, other compositions lack time signatures. Ullmann either lost interest in creating a final draft of this work or became distracted from it by more pressing matters.

*“Erwachen zu Weihnachten” (Awakening at Christmas)*

The original manuscript of “Erwachen zu Weihnachten” is unfinished; only the first verse was set by Ullmann. Nothing in the manuscript indicates Ullmann’s intention for the form of this incomplete work. The Schott editions contain repeat signs and brackets not present in the manuscript. In m. 14 of the original manuscript, Ullmann continued with the vocal line for the second strophe and the notes appear exactly as they do in mm. 2-3. The vocal line stops short and ends with the third beat of m. 15; Ullmann did not continue on with the piece. The accompaniment is missing below the vocal line in what would be m. 15.<sup>221</sup> The editors of the Schott editions make the piece strophic, allowing performance with what remains of the manuscript. The ending leaves the listener longing for a proper cadence because the piece simply stops and does not feature one of Ullmann’s ingeniously crafted signature endings. The final cadence in the Schott editions do not appear in the manuscript—the editors simply used the last chord Ullmann penned in mm. 13-14 as the final cadence of the piece as seen in figure 4.5.<sup>222</sup>

---

<sup>221</sup> Viktor Ullmann, *Lieder der Tröstung*, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>222</sup> Ullmann, *Ullmann: Drei Lieder für Singstimme und Streichtrio*, editorischer bericht.

Figure 4.5. V. Ullmann, *Lieder der Tröstung*, “Erwachen zu Weihnachten,” mm. 11-14.

11 **ritard.**

wie - der - keh - ren.  
Er - de ger - ne.  
jetzt zum Fe - ste.

1., 2. [*p*] 3.

[2. Prü - fe  
[3. Denn das

*pp* *ppp*

The vocal melodic line of “Erwachen zu Weihnachten” flows by slowly descending from the first pitch to the last, starting at F5 and ending at B<sup>b</sup>4. The phrases are quite long. Rests do not occur in the vocal line; however, Ullmann placed a breath mark before the last beat of m. 4. The lack of rests in an Ullmann composition is uncommon as he was well aware of the needs and limitations of the human voice.<sup>223</sup> The text determines where breaths are taken and varies from strophe to strophe. At m. 8, the tessitura flips from F5 to A<sup>b</sup>5 in the first seven measures to A<sup>b</sup>4-A<sup>b</sup>5 in mm. 8-11. Ullmann increases the intervallic leaps in the vocal line in mm. 8-11, moving from a minor sixth to a minor seventh on the text “sehn sie, wie die erdenschweren Lasten immer wiederkehren” (they see how the earthly heavy burdens always return). The “heavy burdens” drag and stretch the intervallic leaps back and forth and illustrate the text through the exploration of vocal color in the different registers. “Erwachen zu Weihnachten” is chromatic and not assigned a key signature, but instead explores the natural-harmonic-series. The incomplete nature of the manuscript explains the lack of

<sup>223</sup> See chapter 2 for more information on Ullmann’s approach to vocal music.

significant motivic material present in most other Ullmann works. The lyric recitative-style vocal line is declamatory and syllabic, and it retains its melodic identity over a comparatively thin texture in the string accompaniment. Text painting in the vocal line is not overt, yet as stated earlier, only the text set by Ullmann should be analyzed.

The chromatic harmonic language alternates between tonality and atonality. The opening measure and the penultimate measure, leading to the end of each verse, both have thick textures in the accompaniment. The rather thin texture of the string trio parts sustains the tension beneath the vocal line. Ullmann seemingly favors unresolved dissonance at the end of the first strophe by using a symmetrical B<sup>b</sup>-major chord with the fifth of the chord lowered between two major thirds, as seen in figure 4.5. Throughout the work there exists a repetition of minor and diminished sonorities. This choice of harmonies support the Christian mysticism present in Steffen's text references to angels, heaven, and the cross at Christmas.<sup>224</sup>

Many of Ullmann's Theresienstadt compositions deal with the subject of sleep, or rest—similarly to all of the German-language pieces discussed in chapter 3. The first verse of “Erwachen zu Weihnachten” speaks directly to this idea, and Ullmann's tempo and performance directions reinforce the mood of sleep, especially in the use of dynamic markings that do not exceed *mezzo-piano*. Additionally, the first verse contains imagery of purple and gold that are mirrored in “Arie des Todes” (Death's Aria) from Ullmann's opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, in the Steffen text “Augen noch in Schlaf geschlossen schauen wie auf Purpurschwingen Engel golden Schalen bringen” (Eyes still closed in sleep look as if they are on purple wings with angels bringing golden bowls). In

---

<sup>224</sup> Christian mysticism directly relates to anthroposophic philosophy in the ideas of angels, heaven, and the cross at Christmas.

“Arie des Todes” (Death’s Aria), *Der Tod* (Death) laments the respect and reverence that was once, but is no longer, bestowed upon him. He draws comparisons between two major rituals of life—weddings and funerals. The purple and gold in the aria evoke images of wealth, pomp, and allegiance, while in “Erwachen zu Weihnachten” these colors reference angels, with sleep being an allegory to death. The purple wings also symbolize sunken, baggy eyes that are supported by the lower eyelids, or golden bowls, as seen in someone sleeping.

A starting tempo of *Andante senza rigore* (moving without rigor) moves to a *Tranquillo* (tranquilly) in m. 3 to reinforce the feeling of a hushed Christmas morning. Aligning with the first verse, the metric organization shifts between simple-duple and simple-triple meters depending on the needs of the prosody. In the manuscript, Ullmann leaves out the switch to the duple time signature at m. 7, yet he places a 3/4 time signature at m. 11. The lack of 2/4 time signature in the manuscript at m. 7 is most likely a simple omission on Ullmann’s part, but is indicated by the obvious change in beats-per-measure. The viola line, when under the voice, moves in contrary motion to the rhythmic figures established in the violin and cello lines. In mm. 3-7, a descending rhythmic pattern of two eighth notes followed by a quarter note changes depending on the meter of each measure, and unifies the piece as seen in figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6. V. Ullmann, *Lieder der Tröstung*, “Erwachen zu Weihnachten,” mm. 4-6.

Gesang

wie auf Pur-pur-schwin-gen En-gel gold-ne Scha-len brin-gen. Schon von Son - ne ü - ber -  
 Leib im Ta-ges-lich-te: Ab-wärts-zie-hen-de Ge-wich-te einst ver-schul-de-ter Ge-  
 Gott-heit dran ge-han-gen. Licht in uns ist auf-ge-gan-gen und der Him-mel läßt sich

VI.

Va.

Vc.

Ullmann did not give the singer any assistance in finding the first pitch of this piece, as he did in “Tote wollen nicht verweilen...” The first pitch of each verse must be tonally memorized by the vocalist. The violin line shares some material with the voice starting in m. 5, assisting the singer with the chromatic line. Additionally, both rhythm and pitch class are echoed in the vocal line in m. 11 and one measure later in the violin line, in m. 12. Schott’s *Ullmann: Drei Lieder für Singstimme und Streichtrio* edition contains some errors as there are notes in the viola line that are impossible to play on the instrument. In m. 8, the C3 in the viola line cannot sound in a double stop with the G<sup>b</sup>4, as these pitches are played using the same string. Additionally, the B3 in m. 10 of the viola line is outside of the viola’s range.<sup>225</sup> Fortunately, these notes can be performed by the cellist playing the C3 and B3 of the viola line in double stop with the notes of the cello without difficulty. The incorrect note assignment, seen in figure 4.7, is a product of Ullmann’s preparation of a particell sketch coupled with the editors of the Schott edition placing the C3 and B3 in the viola line instead of the cello line.

<sup>225</sup> The viola has a playable range of C3 to C7.

Figure 4.7. V. Ullmann, *Lieder der Tröstung*, “Erwachen zu Weihnachten,” mm. 7-10.

7

Gesang

- flos - sen sehn sie, wie die er - den - schwe - ren La - sten im - mer  
 schi - cke. Wer er - kennt im Reich der Ster - ne, trägt das Leid der  
 fra - gen. Schau, es leuch - ten im Ge - ä - ste die Ge - stir - ne

VI.

Va.

Vc.

Ullmann’s choice of poetry, the use of descending eighth-note patterns, the use of chromaticism, the balance of tonality and atonality, and the use of shifting meters to fit the prosody unify both pieces in *Lieder der Tröstung*. This cycle shows the influence of Ullmann’s formal music education with both Schoenberg and Hába. The incomplete nature of the cycle’s manuscript should not discourage its performance. A graduate-level mezzo-soprano can effectively perform this chamber work’s wide range and highly chromatic passages. As stated earlier, *Lieder der Tröstung* requires that the string players be highly skilled musicians.

#### “Herbst” (Autumn)

Like *Lieder der Tröstung*, Ullmann composed “Herbst” for voice with string trio accompaniment. He wrote the manuscript for this piece separately from the previously discussed cycle and not in particell sketch form. Ullmann signed “Herbst” complete with “Theresienstadt, 24.I.1943” (Theresienstadt, January 24, 1943) and his signature.<sup>226</sup> This

<sup>226</sup> Viktor Ullmann, “Herbst,” January 24, 1943, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland.



through-composed piece contains melodic lines that occur in both the voice and string parts. The viola and violin trade the melody line back and forth throughout.<sup>227</sup> Almost without exception, each melodic phrase rises and then falls, and each phrase is quite long as demanded by the prosody. The range extends from A3 to E<sup>b</sup>5 with a tessitura that does not differ from the range, like “Tote wollen nicht verweilen...” This highly chromatic work never achieves atonality, but instead progresses through different key centers.

The violin, viola, and cello lines trade the eighth-note figure that occurs in almost every measure of “Herbst.” This figure could represent leaves falling, birds in flight, or the passage of time as an eighth rest is followed by oscillating intervals inside the eighth-note figure, seen in figure 4.8.<sup>228</sup> As the piece continues, the ‘falling leaf motive’ transforms into a repeated triplet figure that vacillates in the same manner. The melodic ‘autumn motive’ first appears in mm. 5-7 of the violin line (E-A-G-C<sup>#</sup>-D) and recurs a total of three times in the voice line: in mm. 22-25, in slightly altered form and followed by the violin line; in mm. 34-37 of the vocal line; and at the end of the work in mm. 71-75.<sup>229</sup> An ascending seventh followed by a descending tritone in mm. 29-30 of the violin line and mm. 49-50 in the viola line appears as a shorter version of the ‘autumn motive.’ The first twelve measures of the piece present all motivic material that occurs throughout “Herbst.”

---

<sup>227</sup> In regard to melodic lines, Carol Kimball states, “Melody is not confined only to the vocal line; melodies can also be found in the piano accompaniment or in the harmonic structure, in the form of small melodic motives, pitch ‘cells,’ or melodic fragments.” Kimball, *Song: A Guide to Art Song Style and Literature*, 3.

<sup>228</sup> For the purpose of clarity, this motive will be referred to as the ‘falling leaf motive.’

<sup>229</sup> Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 194.

Figure 4.8. V. Ullmann, “Herbst,” mm. 1-5.

The musical score for V. Ullmann's "Herbst" (mm. 1-5) is presented for four parts: Gesang (Voice), Violine (Violin), Viola, and Violoncello (Cello). The tempo is marked "Adagio" with a half note equal to one minute. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The voice part consists of whole rests. The violin part plays a descending eighth-note scale starting on G4, marked "pp" and "espr.". The viola part plays a descending half-note scale starting on B3, marked "pp" and "espr.". The cello part plays a descending half-note scale starting on B2, marked "pp".

In regard to vocal articulation, Ullmann creates a lyric melody for the voice that flows much more than the vocal lines in the cycle *Lieder der Tröstung*. The gently swooping vocal line, in tandem with the lines of the string trio, illustrates the sentiments of autumn in poetry. In comparison to *Lieder der Tröstung*, “Herbst” contains abundant text painting. The first phrase of the vocal line in m. 12, “Gewaltig endet so das Jahr” (Strongly, thus ends the year), contains a descending melodic line that rests on B3—the year’s end. With the line “Ein Vogelzug grüßt von der Reise” (A line of birds flying by gives greetings from their travels), the violin and viola *tremolo* as the birds greet each other. The violin and viola exchange a melodic line following the previous line of poetry in mm. 51- 60. In these measures, the melody in the accompaniment rises and falls, recalling the sound of birds hovering or chattering in the autumn sky. In the short interlude that occurs in the strings immediately following this section, in mm. 52-55, the viola and violin trade the melody first presented in the vocal line in mm. 45-48 at a different pitch level. Additionally, the violin part mirrors the descending vocal line (D<sup>b</sup>-C-B<sup>b</sup>) in mm. 63-64, off-set by one measure, and illustrates the text “wie schön sich Bild

an Bildchen reiht” (how beautifully picture upon smaller picture line up), providing a visual image of the reflection of a boat on a river, as demonstrated in figure 4.9.<sup>230</sup>

Figure 4.9. V. Ullmann, “Herbst,” mm. 61-68.

The musical score for V. Ullmann's "Herbst" (mm. 61-68) is presented in two systems. The first system (mm. 61-64) shows the vocal line (Gesang) and the instrumental parts (VI, Va, Vc). The lyrics are: "Fluß hin - un - - ter, wie schön sich Bild an". The second system (mm. 65-68) continues the vocal line and instrumental parts. The lyrics are: "Bild - - chen reiht. Das geht". The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings like [sul pont.] and [ord.].

Dissonance marks “Herbst” harmonically. As discussed earlier, the piece contains a ‘falling leaf motive’ that begins an evolving arpeggiated sequence in this chamber work. The piece is linear with phrases that are replete with minor and diminished intervals. Ullmann uses conventional seventh chords, specifically throughout mm. 36-47, interrupted with a quartal chord at m. 48.<sup>231</sup> Chordal harmonic sections occur only three times in the work; two of the chordal sections take place in the short interludes, mm. 29-32 and mm. 49-54, and the last occurs in the postlude, mm. 76-80. Triads and quartal

<sup>230</sup> Pugin, “Ullmann: 4 Songs from ‘Liederbuch des Hafis,’ op. 30,” 50.

<sup>231</sup> Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 194.

chords occur throughout these sections. The prolific use of minor/minor-seventh sonorities throughout the piece propels it forward to rest on an E-major chord that emphasizes F in the bass in the final cadence. In the last measure, the G<sup>#</sup> in the violin line resolves to an A, giving the work an unsettled ending that could be interpreted as a Picardy third, but without any impression of finality.<sup>232</sup> The fermatas and unresolved cadence at the end of the piece could be a manifestation of the frustration felt by Ullmann, considering the lack of “Ruh und Schwiegen” (peace and quiet) in his life and the lives of those in Theresienstadt.

The string trio accompaniment plays continuously through the piece. The viola and cello never rest, while the violin only rests for a total of four beats. The double stops in “Herbst” are challenging, but were not outside the skill level of the string players in Theresienstadt, who would have been members of the finest orchestras in Prague.<sup>233</sup> The viola line mirrors the voice beginning at m. 6,7 and the mirroring moves to the violin line in m. 71. The ‘falling leaf motive’ occurs in the string accompaniment and supports the mood of the transitional nature the seasons, specifically of autumn. The linear texture alternates the ‘falling leaf motive’ and ‘autumn motive’ between the violin and viola, while the cello provides the foundation.

Often in “Herbst,” the vocal line presents a melodic idea that repeats in either the violin or viola lines. For example in m. 13, the singer presents the melody, and immediately following, the violinist repeats the same line an octave higher in m. 14. This ‘shadowing’ takes place in the violin line on important words or phrases in the text. A

---

<sup>232</sup> Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 194.

<sup>233</sup> Ullmann, *Ullmann: Drei Lieder für Singstimme und Streichtrio*, foreword.

particularly interesting occurrence of this shadowing occurs in mm. 34-38 with the text “Da sagt der Landmann: Es ist gut” (Then says the farmer: It is good). Here the violin line rests for one measure to allow for the shadow effect and sounds one octave higher than the voice, as demonstrated in figure 4.10. The predominant lack of vocal doubling in the string trio parts can make “Herbst” challenging for a vocalist. However, the motivic material shared and traded between the voice and the strings adds interest and character to the work in addition to supporting the text.

Figure 4.10. V. Ullmann, “Herbst,” mm. 31-39.

The musical score for V. Ullmann's "Herbst" (mm. 31-39) is presented in two systems. The first system (mm. 31-35) shows the vocal line (Gesang) with the lyrics "Da sagt der Landmann:". The violin I (VI.) part has a rest in measure 34, allowing for a shadow effect. The violin II (Va.) and viola/cello (Vc.) parts provide accompaniment. The second system (mm. 36-39) shows the vocal line with the lyrics "Es ist gut. Ihr Abendglocken,". The violin I part has a rest in measure 36, allowing for a shadow effect. The violin II and viola/cello parts continue the accompaniment. The score includes markings such as *pp dolce* and *sul pont.* (sul ponticello).

The simple-duple meter within a tempo of *Adagio* assists in setting the mood of Georg Trakl's poem. Ullmann uses dotted-half-note rhythms to illustrate the text and

stress important syllables. Long phrases are demanded by the text and are extended through the use of a slow tempo and elongated note values, especially at the end of some of the phrases. In the final phrase “Das geht in Ruh und Schweigen unter” (This descends in peace and quiet), the rhythmic values are extended, portraying the reflection of the boat quivering upon the river.

Trakl (1887-1914) wrote the poem Ullmann used for the text of “Herbst.” The poem appears in Trakl’s 1913 poetry collection, *Gedichte* (Poetry), and was written during Trakl’s most highly acclaimed years of creative output, 1912-14.<sup>234</sup> Trakl, an Austrian, is one of the most important German-language poets, and his poetic tone led into German Expressionism. His work compares to that of fellow poets Friedrich Hoelderlin and Rainer Maria Rilke. Trakl’s poetry has a visual style with a dreamlike flow, and a preoccupation with violence, obstinacy, and death. Trakl was trained as a pharmacist and died of a drug overdose.<sup>235</sup>

This Trakl poem was published under the title of “Verklärter Herbst” (Transfigured Autumn).<sup>236</sup> Reviewer Tristram Pugin calls this poem, “one of the calmest of Trakl’s lyrics, with only the reference to the silent woods as ‘des Einsames Gefährten’

---

<sup>234</sup> *Contemporary Authors Online, Biography in Context*, s.v. “Georg Trakl,” [http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&source=&search\\_within\\_results=&action=e&catId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CH1000099613&userGroupName=munc80314&jsid=f15b07237e3230ccea4e5086f91e3e0b](http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&source=&search_within_results=&action=e&catId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CH1000099613&userGroupName=munc80314&jsid=f15b07237e3230ccea4e5086f91e3e0b) (accessed May 16, 2013).

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

<sup>236</sup> Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 193; Ullmann, *Ullmann: Drei Lieder für Singstimme und Streichtrio*, editorischer bericht.

[‘the lonely companions’] suffusing the whole with a characteristic melancholy.”<sup>237</sup>

Ullmann may have referenced Trakl’s poem from memory, and as a result, the title of the piece differs from the title of the original poem. The themes of this poem recall those in the Steffen poems of *Lieder der Tröstung*. Trakl evokes romantic images of autumn, the harvest, and the peace and quiet of nature. Autumn can also be interpreted as the beginning of death and decay, while a harvest implies plenty. The poem reflects on the full gamut of life, both the good and bad. The themes in “Herbst” focus on the cycle of life, parting, decline, and death—these concepts were all too real to Ullmann, especially in Theresienstadt.<sup>238</sup> There are two changes in word choice made by Ullmann, possibly caused by his incorrect memorization of the poem’s text. In m. 20, Ullmann changed *Rund* (about) to *Rings* (around), not causing a major change in interpretation. However, the second word change has more of an impact: in m. 57 *milde* (mildly) was changed to *goldne* (golden). Ullmann used *goldne* as an adjective in other poems that were set while in Theresienstadt. These include the previously-discussed “Erwachen zu Weihnachten,” in addition to “Arie des Tod” (Death’s Aria) from *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, and “Der müde Soldat” (The Tired Soldier) from *Drei chinesische Lieder* (Three Chinese Songs), both discussed in chapter 3 of this guide. It is possible that Ullmann was looking beyond his current situation to a ‘golden time,’ either in the past or into the future.

As stated earlier, “Herbst” is through-composed, although the work may appear strophic. The three strophes of the poem have similar openings where the first strophe in mm. 12-14 contains similar pitch classes as the second strophe in mm. 33-36. Each

---

<sup>237</sup> Pugin, “Ullmann: 4 Songs from ‘Liederbuch des Hafis,’ op. 30,” 50.

<sup>238</sup> Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 194.

strophe opens with a larger interval than the previous strophe, starting with a tritone, continuing with a perfect fifth, and finishing with a diminished seventh. The rhythms in mm. 12-13 and mm. 33-35 are the same, but the repetition of material ends there. Symmetry manifests itself in mm. 67-77 of the string accompaniment as these measures are almost an exact repetition of the first eleven measures of the work.

There are similarities between “Herbst” and the fourth movement of Schoenberg’s 1907-08 composition, *Zweites Streichquartett* (Second String Quartet), op. 10. Both works are composed for voice and string ensemble with a long instrumental prelude that contains all of the tonal and motivic ideas for the pieces. Additionally, both introductions foreshadow themes of the coming text.<sup>239</sup>

“Herbst” stands apart from the other Theresienstadt works discussed in this guide because it is not in a cycle or part of a larger work. Singers often pair “Herbst” with *Lieder der Tröstung* in performance. Schott’s *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier* contains arrangements for both *Lieder der Tröstung* and “Herbst” for voice and piano; however, the versions performed with string trio and those with piano accompaniment differ substantially. The piano reduction loses the depth of tone color and the individual lines of each of the string instruments. These works should, if at all possible, be performed as originally intended, for voice and string trio. Like *Lieder der Tröstung*, “Herbst” does require an accomplished string trio and an equally accomplished and experienced singer for successful performance.

---

<sup>239</sup> Rachel Bergman, “The Musical Language of Viktor Ullmann,” PhD diss., Yale University, 2001, in ProQuest Dissertations Theses, [http://proquest.umi.com/mccl.library.csulb.edu/pqdweb?did=728502771&sid=1&Fmt=6&client=14436&RQT=309&VName=PQD](http://proquest.umi.com/mccl/library.csulb.edu/pqdweb?did=728502771&sid=1&Fmt=6&client=14436&RQT=309&VName=PQD) (accessed July 30, 2012), 160.



*Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Tod Verweigerung*  
(The Emperor of Atlantis or Death's Refusal), op. 49

Ullmann composed his most well-known work, the opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Tod Verweigerung* (The Emperor of Atlantis or Death's Refusal), op. 49, between June and July 1943, and signed it as finished on November 18, 1943.<sup>240</sup> This work is a prime example of the musical resistance that took place in Theresienstadt, while being an approved activity for Ullmann under the ghetto's *Freizeitgestaltung* (Administration of Leisure Activities). The opera was rehearsed in Theresienstadt, but was not performed during Ullmann's lifetime because of the censorship within the ghetto.<sup>241</sup>

Unlike the other Ullmann works that are explored in this guide, music theorists and musicologists have analyzed the intricacies of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49. *The Definitive Kobbé's Opera Book* from 1987 and Bärenreiter's *Handbuch der Oper* (Handbook of Opera) published in 2006, contain short entries for the opera. In *Opera: The Art of Dying*, the authors express the weight of this work, "Everyone who writes about this opera inevitably feels, as do we, intimidated by [its] history. Everyone also

---

<sup>240</sup> The opera shares an opus number with Ullmann's *Sechs Klaviersonate* (Sixth Piano Sonata), which is dated August 1, 1943. The title page of the typed libretto lists the title of the opera as "*Der König [sic] von Atlantis oder der Tod dankt ab*" (The King of Atlantis or Death Abdicates), while the handwritten libretto lists the title as *Der Tod dankt ab* (Death Abdicates). Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 257-8; Viktor Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, November 18, 1944, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>241</sup> The December 16, 1975 premiere of the opera in Amsterdam was made possible by British conductor Kerry Woodward who edited the manuscript. The premiere was performed in English with a translation by Aaron Kramer. Programme 1975 Dez, December 16, 1975, "Dokumentationsmaterial (Korrespondenz, Programme, Rezensionen, etc.) zu Aufführungen von *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* von Julie und Kerry Woodward," Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

agrees that its very existence is a testament to the resilience of the human spirit.”<sup>242</sup>

Michael Wiener offers a differing opinion and suggests that *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, should be analyzed separately from the place and circumstances of its origins. Wiener wrote, “Ullmann intended to present a parable with a more abstract moral and aesthetic message.”<sup>243</sup> The historical weight and compositional circumstances of this opera can be intimidating, but should not discourage its performance.

The one-act, hour-long opera is the most complex work composed in the ghetto and contains many of the unifying themes in Ullmann’s Theresienstadt works.<sup>244</sup> These themes include sleep, death, longing, imprisonment, the horrors of war, and resistance under oppression. Czech playwright Karel Čapek’s 1937 play *Bílá Nemoc* (The White Plague) possibly inspired the libretto. Čapek’s work was written as a protest against modern warfare and the fascism of the Spanish Civil War (1936-38). The plots of both *Bílá Nemoc* and *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* are similar, but conclude with quite differing endings. In Čapek’s play, the plague’s cure brings the loss of humanity, while the ending of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* represents redemption.<sup>245</sup>

The libretto is traditionally attributed to Ullmann’s fellow Theresienstadt prisoner Peter Kien (1919-44).<sup>246</sup> Ullmann inscribed the opera manuscript’s title page with “Spiel

---

<sup>242</sup> Linda Hutcheon and Michael Hutcheon, *Opera: The Art of Dying* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 167.

<sup>243</sup> Wiener, “Legal Notions in Viktor Ullmann’s Last Piano Sonata.”

<sup>244</sup> Philip V. Bohlman, “Epilogue: Beyond Jewish Modernism,” in *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*, 153-177, foreword by Sander L. Gilman (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 169.

<sup>245</sup> Bravo, “Staging Death,” 232-3.

<sup>246</sup> Kien’s first name is sometimes spelled ‘Petr.’

in einem Akt von Peter Kien” (A play in one act by Peter Kien) just below the title, yet there is some question as to exactly how large of a role Kien played in writing the libretto.<sup>247</sup> Kien was a talented writer, poet, and also an accomplished visual artist. Like Ullmann, Kien was Bohemian, born in the Northern Bohemian town of Wansdorf. He enrolled in the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague and attended the school until 1939 when Czechoslovakia became the Nazi Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Kien attempted emigration, but was unsuccessful and was one of the first young men deported to Theresienstadt in December of 1941 as a member of an *Aufbaucommando* (construction unit) for the concentration camp. Under the *Freizeitgestaltung*, Kien worked as an artist, writer, and an educator for the ghetto’s children. Kien was murdered at Auschwitz in October of 1944.<sup>248</sup>

The opera’s libretto exists as typed and handwritten versions separate from the music manuscript. Variations exist between the three extant versions of the libretto. The handwritten copy of the libretto matches best with changes made in the music manuscript’s libretto. The title page of the handwritten libretto lists the title of the opera as “*Der Tod dankt ab*” (Death Abdicates) and lists the names of those involved in the rehearsal of the production in Theresienstadt. The libretto’s typed version presents a censored version of the text. The paper used for the typed libretto demonstrates the paper shortage in the ghetto. The reverse sides of these pages contain completed personal record questionnaires from October 4, 1942, and represent some of the first prisoners of

---

<sup>247</sup> Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 221. Viktor Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, November 18, 1944, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>248</sup> Bravo, “Staging Death,” 203.

Theresienstadt.<sup>249</sup> After Adler brought Ullmann's Theresienstadt works to London, the manuscript of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, was bound in red leather with the title on the spine in gold lettering. The opera's manuscript is fragile with corners worn from use. The manuscript paper pages are of differing sizes and vary in the number of staves on each page. Corrections and changes appear throughout and demonstrate the use of the manuscript as the cast and director worked through the rehearsals. There are rehearsal numbers, but after page twenty-six of the manuscript these numbers no longer follow each other in chronological order, possibly due to self-censorship. Ullmann changed the completion date on the last page of the manuscript from November 15, 1943 to November 18, 1943.<sup>250</sup> The Schott editors explain their efforts to create a vocal score that is true to Ullmann's intentions:

On account of the censorship (including self-censorship in anticipation), the limited staging possibilities, and the inability to test the work out on an audience, it cannot be assumed that the extant sources constitute an accurate, unified depiction of Ullmann's intentions. Editorial decisions were required when deciphering the barely legible sections of the autograph as regards the significance of the gaps and the crossed out sections, and were further required regarding the critical analysis of the text, the dramatic sequence, and not least, the instrumentation.<sup>251</sup>

The Schott edition contains Ullmann's alternative beginning to the mezzo-soprano aria, "Arie des Trommlers," which demonstrates self-censorship, as this version does not reference the potentially inflammatory *Kaiserhymne* (Emperor's Hymn) that is discussed

---

<sup>249</sup> Viktor Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, November 18, 1944, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

<sup>251</sup> Viktor Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Tod-Verweigerung*, op. 49, musicological revision by Andreas Krause, English translation by Sonja Lyndon (New York: Schott, 1993), 10.

in the following pages.<sup>252</sup> The second variation uses material from Ullmann's earlier opera *Der Sturz des Antichrist* (The Downfall of the Antichrist), op. 9.<sup>253</sup>

Internal censorship existed within Theresienstadt by the Jewish Self-Administration as demonstrated by letters exchanged between Ullmann and Dr. Otto Zucker, organizer of the *Freizeitgestaltung*. In one letter from the summer of 1943, Ullmann gave a sharp-tongued complaint that his and other prisoners' works were not being performed or even properly respected.

...Wir Künstler hören so viel von jüdischer Kultur, daß wir erwarten haben, daß die im Ghetto geschaffenen Werke ihrer Bestimmung zugeführt werden... Künstler damit die – gedruckte – Partiture meines Klavier Konzertes. Die Künstlerin, die sich das Werk verschafft hatte, wollte freudig mit dem Studium beginnen – ich selbst sollte auf einem 2. Klavier den Orchesterpart spielen. Eben höre ich, daß man die Künstlerin nötigt, an Stelle der Uraufführung meines Klavierkonzertes – Mozart zu spielen. So behält der ironische Vorwurf eines arischen Blattes freilich Recht: daß es Musik der Juden nicht gäbe oder daß wir sie mindestens nicht aufführen.

(... We artists hear so much about Jewish culture, so we expected that the works we have created here in the Ghetto would be heard... Recently the printed score of my Piano Concerto became available. The artist, who had acquired the score, enthusiastically wanted to begin studying – I, myself, was planning to play the orchestra part on a second piano. Now I have learned that in the place of the premiere of my piano concerto she is needed to play Mozart. So, after all, the ironic charge of that Aryan pamphlet has certainly proven to be correct: that the music of the Jews does not exist, or that at the very least we just don't play it here.)<sup>254</sup>

Furthermore, Ullmann felt he was not being asked to deliver lectures as he thought he should. In a follow-up letter dated June 7, 1943, Ullmann was apologetic to Zucker for

---

<sup>252</sup>Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Tod-Verweigerung*, op. 49, 111-3.

<sup>253</sup> Bravo, "Staging Death," 216.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid., 242-3.

his tone in the earlier letter. These exchanges demonstrate that Theresienstadt was not the free performance venue as it has been hailed in some accounts.

The limited musical resources available in Theresienstadt directly contributed to Ullmann's use of the unconventional thirteen-piece orchestra. Musicologist Robert Rollin draws a parallel between Ullmann's situation and that of Igor Stravinsky's compositional position in the post-World War I music scene. Economic poverty and political upheaval encouraged both composers to utilize new and small instrument combinations involving single winds and the available 'exotic' instruments. In Ullmann's case, he scored *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, for alto saxophone, banjo (changing to guitar), harpsichord (changing to piano), harmonium, percussion, a handful of single woodwinds, one trumpet, and strings.<sup>255</sup> The seven characters of the opera are listed below:

Kaiser Overall (Emperor Overall) <sup>256</sup>	Baritone
Der Lautsprecher (The Loudspeaker)	Bass
Der Tod (Death)	Bass
Harlekin (Harlequin)	Tenor
Ein Soldat (A Soldier)	Tenor
Bubikopf, ein Soldat	Soprano
(The Girl with the Bobbed Hair, a Soldier)	
Der Trommler (The Drummer)	Mezzo-soprano <sup>257</sup>

---

<sup>255</sup> Robert Rollin, "Viktor Ullmann's The Emperor of Atlantis (1943): An Opera Composed in Terezin Concentration Camp," *Ex Tempore* 12, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2004): 39.

<sup>256</sup> With the character Kaiser Overall, Ullmann uses the English 'Overall' as opposed to the German *Überall*. The English title may be evidence of self-censorship as using the German equivalent could have been perceived as too provocative. The use of 'Overall' could be clever wordplay. In German, 'Overall' translates as the garment overalls. Rachel Elizabeth Bergman, "Creativity in Captivity: Viktor Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*," *The Opera Journal* 32 (June 2005): 12.

<sup>257</sup> In the typed and handwritten libretto copies, the role of Bubikopf is listed as "Mädchen" (Girl), in addition to the programs of early productions of the opera. Der Trommler is listed as an alto role in the music manuscript. Viktor Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, November 18, 1944, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

Ullmann composed each character's part with a specific singer in mind for the role. In the original rehearsals, David Grünfeld sang both of the tenor roles.<sup>258</sup> Baritone Walter Windholz sang Kaiser Overall, soprano Gertrude Borger sang the role of the disembodied Der Lautsprecher,<sup>259</sup> baritone Karel Berman performed the role of Der Tod, Marion Hildegard Podolier sang the soprano role of Bubikopf, and mezzo-soprano Hilde Lindt-Aronson sang the trouser role of Der Trommler.<sup>260</sup> Ullmann fully intended Der Trommler as a trouser role and made this evident in the stage direction in the opera's manuscript, "Er geht ab" (He leaves).<sup>261</sup> Ullmann wrote critiques of Theresienstadt performances that featured Lindt-Aronson and was quite complimentary of her abilities. He described her as "prächtigen" (magnificent) with a "warme, samtige Stimme" (warm, velvety voice).<sup>262</sup> The lack of chorus in the opera demonstrates the lack of personnel available in addition to the constant threat of deportation.

The opera opens with a solo trumpet proclaiming the 'death motive,' which repeats at the beginning of the mezzo-soprano's aria, shown in figure 4.11. Ullmann

---

<sup>258</sup> Gregory Gilmore, "Musical and cultural activities inside Terezín, 1941-1945," *Music Research Forum* 11, 1 (1996): 36; Viktor Ullmann, *26 Kritiken über Musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt*, vol. 3 of *Verdrängte Musik—NS-verfolgte Komponisten und ihre Werke* (Neumünster, Germany: von Bockel Verlag, 2011), 107.

<sup>259</sup> There is an obvious discrepancy between Der Lautsprecher being listed as a bass role but rehearsed by a soprano. This may speak to Ullmann's ideal versus what personnel were available.

<sup>260</sup> Ullmann, *26 Kritiken über Musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt*, 100, 106-7, 118-19, 127-8.

<sup>261</sup> Viktor Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, November 18, 1944, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>262</sup> Both of these comments come from Ullmann's reviews of Lindt-Aronson as a soloist first in Mendelssohn's *Elijah* and then in Verdi's *Requiem*. Lindt-Aronson survived Theresienstadt and the Holocaust, later emigrating to New York. Ullmann, *26 Kritiken über Musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt*, 74, 92, 138.

borrowed this proclamation of death from Czech composer Josef Suk's 1906 Symphony in C minor, op. 27 or *Asrael* Symphony, named for the Islamic mythological angel who escorts the souls of the dead.<sup>263</sup> Suk composed this symphony after the deaths of both his wife and Antonín Dvořák, his father-in-law. Those imprisoned in Theresienstadt would have been familiar with the symphony as it was frequently performed at Czech state funerals. In *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, the 'death motive' appears first as G-D<sup>b</sup>, E<sup>b</sup>-A—two tritones a major second apart that first ascend twice and then descend. Ullmann used the same intervallic relationships as Suk for the 'death motive.'<sup>264</sup> The way in which Ullmann employed this motive in the first eight measures of the opera, through use of chromaticism and the tight construct of the melodic line, point the listener to his studies with Schoenberg. The rhythmic relationship between the vocal line and the orchestra recalls Stravinsky's *L'Histoire du Soldat* in the use of the pattern of four eighth notes played against a vocal line that flows independently of the orchestra. The metric context differs in that Ullmann used simple meter, while Stravinsky alternated the metric values.<sup>265</sup>

---

<sup>263</sup> Ullmann also used Suk's 'death motive' in "Immer inmitten," discussed in chapter 3. Bergman, "Creativity in Captivity: Viktor Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*," 10.

<sup>264</sup> Kelley Poché, "Governed by Dissonance: Death, Deutschland, and the Drummer-Girl in Viktor Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*," *Harmonia – The GAMuT Form 5* (2002-03): 19.

<sup>265</sup> Rollin, "Viktor Ullmann's The Emperor of Atlantis (1943)," 46.



Figure 4.11. V. Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49: Scene 1, Nr. vi: “Arie des Trommlers,” mm. 1-4.

**Nr. VI**  
**Arie des Trommlers**  
(Drummer's Aria)  
*(Trommelwirbel. Der Trommler erscheint hinter dem Zaun und verliest einen Aufruf.)\**

**Allegro con brio**

TROMMLER

Bl., Str.

Hal - lo, hal - lo!  
Hel - lo, hel - lo!

Kl. Tr.

*fff*

*ff*

*mf*

After the solo trumpet introduces the ‘death motive,’ Der Lautsprecher calls for the attention of the audience with the text “Hallo, hallo!” This proclamation could be a reference to Thomas Edison’s first “Hullo!” into a telephone in 1877.<sup>266</sup> Der Lautsprecher continues by announcing the opera’s title, the characters, and the opera’s theme with: “Das erste Bild spielt irgendwo; Tod und Harlekin sitzen im Ausgedinge, das Leben, das nicht mehr lachen und das Sterben, das nicht mehr weinen kann in einer Welt, die verlernt hat, am Leben sich zu freuen und des Todes sterben zu lassen.” (The first scene takes place somewhere: Der Tod and Harlekin are waiting in the wings of life so to speak, they sit and watch the world go by, this world where the living have forgotten how to laugh and the dying how to die).<sup>267</sup> Der Lautsprecher announces the mezzo-soprano, or Der Trommler, as: “Der Trommler, eine nicht ganz wirkliche Erscheinung, wie das

<sup>266</sup> Bravo, “Staging Death,” 208.

<sup>267</sup> Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Tod-Verweigerung*, op. 49, 15.

Radio...” (The Drummer, not quite a real figure. Like the radio...).<sup>268</sup> By drawing a parallel between Der Trommler and a radio, the audience becomes aware that Der Trommler does not have thoughts of his own. Instead, he functions as the mouthpiece of the Kaiser while the Kaiser locks himself in his palace, and uses both Der Trommler and Der Lautsprecher to wage his war from afar.<sup>269</sup>

As the opera continues, Harlekin, derived from the classic clown of the *Commedia dell'Arte*, loses the ability to make others laugh and therefore loses his will to live.<sup>270</sup> When Harlekin sings of his previously infectious happiness, Ullmann quotes Gustav Mahler’s *Das Lied von der Erde* (Song of the Earth), no. v. “Der Trunkene in Frühling” (The Drunken One in Spring) and no. vi. “Der Abschied” (The Departure) in the use of rhythmic and harmonic gesture.<sup>271</sup> In tattered Habsburg military regalia, Death personified becomes sentimental for the days when war involved pageantry, when warriors paid him respect, and when war was not waged with the technologies of the telephone, the telegraph, radio broadcast, and loudspeakers.<sup>272</sup> In *Der Tod*’s reminiscence, Ullmann recalls the style of a 1920s German satiric cabaret song along

---

<sup>268</sup> Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Tod-Verweigerung*, op. 49, 14.

<sup>269</sup> Bravo, “Staging Death,” 209.

<sup>270</sup> The character Harlekin, or Pierrot, first appeared approximately 300 years ago in the Italian *Commedia dell'Arte* as a representation of love and high spirits. On the first page of the typed and handwritten libretto copies, Harlekin’s first aria is labeled, “Nr. 3 Lied der Pierrot” (No. 3 Song of Pierrot). The music manuscript refers to this character as Harlekin. In early production programs of the opera, this role is listed as Pierrot. Bravo, “Staging Death,” 205; Hutcheon and Hutcheon, 169; Viktor Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, November 18, 1944, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>271</sup> Rollin, “Viktor Ullmann’s The Emperor of Atlantis (1943),” 43.

<sup>272</sup> The personification of death was common in medieval mystery plays. Bravo, “Staging Death,” 201-2, 208; Hutcheon and Hutcheon, 169.

with the text, “So oft bin ich mit den kleinen Pferden Attilas um die Wette gelaufen” (So often I kept up the pace with Attila and his fleet-footed ponies).<sup>273</sup> Both Der Tod and Harlekin complain that daily life has developed into a limbo between what is living and what is dead, a purgatory of sorts that has unmistakable parallels with the condition of the prisoners at Theresienstadt.<sup>274</sup> Der Trommler announces Kaiser Overall’s declaration of total war. In his following aria, Der Tod goes on strike by breaking his sword and the curtain falls on the first scene.<sup>275</sup> The next scene begins with an *Intermezzo* (*Totentanz*/Dance of Death) containing elements of a Viennese waltz while the Kaiser shouts into his telephone in his study. The Kaiser depends upon Der Lautsprecher to update him on the situation because the tyrannical ruler has barricaded himself in his fortress for protection against his own war and those who would seek to have him suffer or be killed.<sup>276</sup> Because Der Tod has broken his sword, no one in the realm can die even though there is disease pandemic, mortal wounds are inflicted upon soldiers in battle, and executions are attempted yet fail. This update from Der Lautsprecher aggravates Kaiser

---

<sup>273</sup> There are several references, in the opera, to the compositional style of Kurt Weill and the jazz idiom, this is one of them. Hans-Günter Klein, “Viktor Ullmann,” in *Musik in Theresienstadt: Die Referate des Kolloquiums in Dresden am 4. Mai 1991 und ergänzende Studien herausgegeben von Heidi Tamar Hoffmann und Hans-Günter Klein*, 60-72 (Berlin: [s.n.], 1991), 65; Hutcheon and Hutcheon, 169; Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Tod-Verweigerung*, op. 49, 34.

<sup>274</sup> Bravo, “Staging Death,” 234.

<sup>275</sup> This aria is a quotation of Ullmann’s, now lost, *Symphonische Phantasie* (Symphonic Phantasy), first performed in 1925. Ingo Schultz, “Wege und Irrwege der Ullmann-Forschung,” in Hans-Günter Klein, ed, *Viktor Ullmann—Die Referate des Symposiums...* vol. 12 of *Verdrängte Musik—NS-verfolgte Komponisten und ihre Werke* (Hamburg: von Bockel Verlag, 1996), 33.

<sup>276</sup> Hutcheon and Hutcheon, 171.

Overall and prompts him to sing a melody reminiscent of Richard Wagner's Wotan in his following aria.<sup>277</sup>

Being from differing sides of the conflict, Bubikopf and Ein Soldat engage in combat and are encouraged to continue warring against each other by Der Trommler. The couple inflicts mortal wounds upon each other and confusingly discovers that neither of them is dead. Bubikopf and Ein Soldat kiss, while Der Trommler attempts to reinstate the Kaiser's authority through the use of a Schoenberg-like cabaret melody sung in the style of Marlene Dietrich.<sup>278</sup> The couple sings a love duet and Der Trommler fails in his attempt to restore war and chaos.

The following *Tanz-Intermezzo* "Die lebenden Toten" (Dance-Intermezzo 'The Living Dead') is a slow, funeral-appropriate foxtrot that returns the audience to the Kaiser's study. Harlekin then sings a lullaby and is slowly joined by Der Trommler and the Kaiser, forming a trio. Suddenly, Kaiser Overall rips off the cloth covering a mirror and reveals the reflection of Der Tod, who is Overall's metaphorical and literal *doppelgänger*. The Kaiser, paralyzed by the sight, feels compelled to hide the image that has appeared before him, but cannot move into action. After Der Tod introduces himself, the Kaiser begs him to return to his work. Der Tod will not agree to do so until Kaiser Overall agrees to be the first to die. The Kaiser concedes to be the sacrifice while also believing that humanity is not worthy. His farewell aria begins with resentment and turns into acceptance, while referencing a J.S. Bach cantata with oboe solo, Brahms' *Vier ernste Gesänge* (Four Serious Songs), op. 121, and the final movement of Mahler's *Das*

---

<sup>277</sup> Hutcheon and Hutcheon, 171.

<sup>278</sup> Ibid., 172.

*Lied von der Erde* (The Song of the Earth).<sup>279</sup> Kaiser Overall attempts to console Der Trommler as Der Tod escorts the Kaiser by the hand, and together they exit through the mirror, recalling the iconography of the medieval *Todtentanz* (Dance of Death).<sup>280</sup> Throughout the opera, Der Tod, Kaiser Overall, Der Lautsprecher, and Der Trommler are associated with dissonance through intervals of minor sevenths, major sevenths, and tritones while Ein Soldat, Bubikopf, and Harlekin are represented with consonance, especially the major third.<sup>281</sup>

Bubikopf, Der Trommler, Harlekin, and Der Lautsprecher sing the finale to the music of the J.S. Bach chorale “Ein feste Burg” (A Mighty Fortress).<sup>282</sup> Ullmann may have been referencing German Protestantism and the anti-Semitism of Christian Central Europe through his use of this hymn.<sup>283</sup> Additionally, Ullmann could have been drawing a parallel between the chorale’s “mighty fortress” and the fortress that was Theresienstadt.<sup>284</sup> The featuring of this chorale may also indirectly refer to the religious and political tensions present in Europe and possibly indicate an attempt to discover spiritual peace in the midst of war.<sup>285</sup> Ullmann may have been inspired by Alban Berg’s

---

<sup>279</sup> Hutcheon and Hutcheon, 175; Gilmore, “Musical and cultural activities inside Terezín, 1941-1945,” 38.

<sup>280</sup> Bravo, “Staging Death,” 249.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*, 204.

<sup>282</sup> “Ein feste Burg” was also referenced by Ullmann at the close of his earlier opera *Der Sturz des Antichrist*, op. 9. In this opera the Bach chorale represents, “the fall of the Antichrist and the descent of the true Christ into human history.” Bravo, “Staging Death,” 165, 195.

<sup>283</sup> Philip V. Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 226.

<sup>284</sup> See chapter 2 for more information on the layout of the town Theresienstadt. Bergman, “Creativity in Captivity: Viktor Ullmann’s *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*,” 14.

<sup>285</sup> Rollin, “Viktor Ullmann’s *The Emperor of Atlantis* (1943),” 42.

requiem-like *Violinkonzert* (Violin Concerto) from 1935, where Berg referenced “Es ist genug” (It is Sufficient) from J.S. Bach’s cantata *O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort* (O Eternity, You Word of Thunder) at the end of the concerto.<sup>286</sup> The motivation for Ullmann’s use of the hymn “Ein feste Burg” could therefore be multifaceted—as a satirical commentary, a source of peace, and inspiration by Berg. In the finale, Ullmann adds additional material taken from the prelude of the opera, opening with the text “Komm Tod du unser werter Gast” (Come Death, you our honored guest).<sup>287</sup> The opera opens with an acknowledgement of what it is to be Czech, through the ‘death motive’ from Suk, and closes with the oft-quoted “Ein feste Burg” as the final statement of the opera, giving a nod to Germanic musical heritage.<sup>288</sup> *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, is not only a commentary on tyrannical rule and modern warfare, but also an intentional study on how death and dying are dealt with in both Czech and German literary and musical traditions. Possibly informed by his own war service and influenced by his experiences of the previous six years, Ullmann thus presented his views on the innovations of the large-scale methods of twentieth-century warfare.<sup>289</sup>

While *Der Tod* reminds us that he brings rest to those who experience unbearable suffering, Ullmann and Kien seek to remind us that death serves a needed and even desirable purpose—it is natural, a source of relief, and the ultimate healing. Possibly

---

<sup>286</sup> Bravo, “Staging Death,” 206.

<sup>287</sup> “Ein feste Burg” was also quoted by other composers, such as Felix Mendelssohn in the “Reformation Symphony” and by Giacomo Meyerbeer in the opera *Les Huguenots*. Stravinsky used “Ein feste Burg” in his *L’Histoire die Soldat*, also supported with a small instrumental complement. Hutcheon and Hutcheon, 176; Rollin, “Viktor Ullmann’s The Emperor of Atlantis (1943),” 39.

<sup>288</sup> Rollin, “Viktor Ullmann’s The Emperor of Atlantis (1943),” 43.

<sup>289</sup> Bravo, “Staging Death,” 198-201.

because of the timeframe in which the opera was most likely composed, a period in 1943 when deportations temporarily stopped, the ending of the opera comes across as oddly compassionate and sacrificial on the part of the Kaiser. Despite the seemingly soft ending, it must be remembered that *Der Tod* was hijacked by Kaiser Overall for his own nefarious political purposes.<sup>290</sup> Philip V. Bohlman wrote that Ullmann's experiences as a composer and as a prisoner in Theresienstadt combine in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49.

The opera [was] far more than a collection of fragments that document an imploding world through their lack of finality, far more than merely a sign of dystopia. Quite the contrary: the opera was a musical work whose component parts connect to each other to the life of Theresienstadt, and beyond to a Europe unthinkable without Jews, in other words to all the conditions of heterotopia.<sup>291</sup>

The overarching theme of the opera is one of a parody or even extreme irony, highlighting Ullmann's awareness of his personal circumstances and the circumstances of occupied Europe through the lens of anthroposophy.<sup>292</sup>

*“Arie des Trommlers” (The Drummer’s Aria)*

“Arie des Trommlers” (The Drummer’s Aria) functions as Kaiser Overall’s pronouncement of total war. Der Trommler represents war and all things that cause war as he constantly encourages those within hearing range to continue fighting despite the lack of victory. The snare drum, and its military implications, represents Der

---

<sup>290</sup> Hutcheon and Hutcheon, 177.

<sup>291</sup> Philip V. Bohlman, “Epilogue: Beyond Jewish Modernism,” in *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*, 153-177, foreword by Sander L. Gilman (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008): 168.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid., 170.

Trommler.<sup>293</sup> Material Ullmann borrowed from other composers makes an unmistakable commentary on his situation in Theresienstadt and his resistance under the oppression of the Third Reich. The declaration of total war begins with a richly-historic Joseph Haydn hymn, in m. 6. Originally composed under the title “Gott Erhalte Franz den Kaiser” (God Save Franz the Emperor), this hymn was used by the Austro-Hungarian Empire as the *Kaiserhymne* (Emperor’s Hymn) until the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, following the end of World War I.<sup>294</sup> Haydn was inspired to write the *Kaiserhymne* through hearing “God Save the King” and composed it for Kaiser Franz II’s birthday in 1797 with an original text by Lorenz Leopold Hauska. Haydn used the melody as the basis for the second movement of his “Emperor” String Quartet, op. 76. In 1871 Hoffmann von Fallersleben wrote a new text to the hymn as an expression of German nationalism and a unified Germany.<sup>295</sup> With Fallersleben’s text, the *Kaiserhymne* became the German national anthem, “Deutschlandlied” (Song of Germany), in 1922.<sup>296</sup> Ullmann distorts the D-major melody into a Phrygian/minor-key version of Haydn’s original where the G<sup>b</sup>, or lowered second, implies the F Phrygian mode, yet the E-naturals and G-naturals reinforce the key of F-harmonic minor. During the Baroque era, the key of D major represented stability, triumphal marches, and joy, while the Phrygian mode was equated to war. Gioseffo Zarlino stated in *Le Istitutional Harmonische* that Phrygian mode was “played in ancient times on the pipe [aulos], a very stimulation instrument,

---

<sup>293</sup> Bergman, “Creativity in Captivity: Viktor Ullmann’s *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*,” 8.

<sup>294</sup> Gilmore, “Musical and cultural activities inside Terezín, 1941-1945,” 38.

<sup>295</sup> Bravo, “Staging Death,” 217-8.

<sup>296</sup> The English translations for the *Kaiserhymne* and the revised text by Fallersleben are located in appendix II. Ibid., 216.



which for reasons (according to some) the Spartans used it to call soldiers to combat.”<sup>297</sup>

The Phrygian mode was associated with trumpet-like harsh tones, quickness, vigor, and strength by the Roman poet Quintus Ennius.<sup>298</sup> Setting Kaiser Overall’s proclamation in this way, Ullmann juxtaposed the power and moral shortfalls of the Kaiser with that of the Nazis. Rollin refers to Ullmann’s manipulation of the “Deutschlandlied” as a “burlesquing” of the melody.<sup>299</sup>

Ullmann’s early life, spent in Vienna, and his service in World War I exposed him to the Habsburg monarchy and the titles bestowed upon Kaiser Franz Josef and Kaiser Charles I. The long list of titles given to Kaiser Overall is strikingly similar to the titles conferred on the Austro-Hungarian Emperor. The full title of Kaiser Franz Josef reads like a list of European territories:

Seine Kaiserliche und Königliche Apostolische Majestät Franz Josef I. von Gottes Gnaden Kaiser von Österreich, König von Ungarn und Böhmen, von Dalmatien, Kroatien, Slawonien, Galizien und Lodomerien, Illyrien, Lombardo-Venetien; König von Jerusalem etc.; Erzherzog von Österreich; Großherzog von Toskana und Krakau; Herzog von Lothringen, von Salzburg, Steiermark, Kärnten, Krain und der Bukowina; Großfürst von Siebenbürgen, Markgraf von Mähren; Herzog von Ober- und Niederschlesien, von Modena, Parma, Piacenza und Guastalla, von Auschwitz und Zator, von Teschen, Friaul, Ragusa und Zara; Gefürsteter Graf von Habsburg und Tirol, von Kyburg, Görz und Gradisca; Fürst von Trient und Brixen; Markgraf von Ober- und Niederlausitz und Istrien; Graf von Hohenems, Feldkirch, Bregenz, Sonnenberg etc.; Herr von Triest, von Cattaro und auf der windischen Mark; Großwojwode der Wojwodschaft Serbien etc., etc.

His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty Franz Josef I, by the grace of God Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, of Dalmatia, Croatia,

---

<sup>297</sup> Bravo, “Staging Death,” 219-20.

<sup>298</sup> Gioseffo Zarlino, *On the Modes: Part IV of Le Istitutioni Harmonische, 1558*, ed. Claude V. Palisca, trans. Vered Cohen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 23, quoted in Gwyneth Rachel Bravo, “Staging Death: Allegory in the Operas of Erwin Schulhoff and Viktor Ullmann” (PhD diss, University of California, Los Angeles, 2011), 219-20.

<sup>299</sup> Rollin, “Viktor Ullmann’s The Emperor of Atlantis (1943),” 46.

Slavonia, Galicia and Lodomeria, Illyria, Lombardy-Venetia, King of Jerusalem etc.; Archduke of Austria; Grand Duke of Tuscany and Krakow; Duke of Lorraine, of Salzburg, Steiermark, Carinthia, Carniola and of the Bukovina; Grand Prince of Transylvania, Margrave and Moravia; Duke of Upper and Lower Silesia, of Modena, Parma, Piacenza and Gustalla, of Auschwitz and Zator, of Teschen, Friuli, Ragusa and Zara; Princely Count of Hapsburg and Tyrol, of Kyburg, Gorizia and Gradisca, Prince of Trent and Brixen; Margrave of Upper and Lower Lusatia and Istria; Count of Hohenems, Feldkirch, Bregenz, Sonnenberg etc.; Lord of Trieste, of Cattaro, and of the Windic March; Grand Voivod of the Voivodeship of Serbia etc., etc.<sup>300</sup>

Both Kaisers' titles include "King of Jerusalem."<sup>301</sup> Ullmann uses this particular title at the end of his list and assigns descending minor-second intervals to the melody for 'Jerusalem' in mm. 20-21. With this text and melody, Ullmann references the Nazi persecution of persons of Jewish heritage in the use of the lowered second scale degree, a common interval in Jewish folk and liturgical music.<sup>302</sup> Additionally, he draws unmistakable parallels between Kaiser Overall and the tyrannical ruler of the Third Reich through the use of the *Kaiserhymne*.

In order to give this aria structure and continuity, Ullmann uses the 'death motive' (G-D<sup>b</sup>, E<sup>b</sup>-A) inspired by Suk. Ullmann manipulates this motive several times within "Arie des Trommlers," and many more times throughout the opera. Ullmann's use of the *Kaiserhymne* at the beginning of the aria creates a Classical-era melodic contour and phrase shape, which then transforms into an angular phrase shape at the conclusion of the hymn. The aria develops a more arch-shaped contour at the *Andante misurato*

---

<sup>300</sup> Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 19.

<sup>301</sup> "...Emperor of the Indies, Emperor of Atlantis, Reigning Duke of Ophir and true high priest of Astarte, Lord of Hungary, Cardinal Prince of Ravenna, King of Jerusalem." Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Tod-Verweigerung*, op. 49, 38-39.

<sup>302</sup> Bergman, "Creativity in Captivity: Viktor Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*," 12.

(*Passacaglia*) section. Generally, the phrases are moderate in length. The wide vocal range extends from G<sup>#</sup>3 to B<sup>b</sup>5, while the tessitura remains between E4 and G5. As in the other works discussed in this guide, Ullmann does not use a key signature here, and through the application of chromatic devices in both the vocal line and the orchestration, balances tonality with atonality, especially after the statement of the *Kaiserhymne*.

The ‘death motive’ manifests itself throughout the aria in various incarnations, permeating the piece. The aria opens with the ‘death motive’ in the accompaniment, heard first in the prelude by the trumpet, followed by a restatement by Der Trommler in m. 4.<sup>303</sup> The repetitive and martial rhythm in conjunction with the double tritone ‘death motive’ is associated with Der Trommler throughout the aria and the opera.<sup>304</sup> A permutation of the ‘death motive’ appears in the accompaniment in mm. 6-7, 11, 31, 33-36, 61-62, 63-64, 69-72, and twice in m. 73. The tritones in this motive heighten the tension in the aria, especially in the *Passacaglia* section. On some occasions, the motive appears without the final pitch. In mm. 69-72, Ullmann transposes and augments the ‘death motive’ and in the following measure he transposes the motive back to its original pitches, played beneath the spoken recitative. Following the spoken recitative, the phrase “Gezeichnet: Overall!” (Signed: Overall!) contains the first part of the ‘death motive,’ through the E<sup>b</sup>5.<sup>305</sup> Der Trommler sings the name “Overall” on a descending major-seventh. Later, in scene 2, Kaiser Overall proclaims his own name by singing a

---

<sup>303</sup> The Schott editors indicate the orchestration of prominent instrumental lines in the vocal score.

<sup>304</sup> Bravo, “Staging Death,” 204.

<sup>305</sup> Ponché, “Governed by Dissonance: Death, Deutschland, and the Drummer-Girl in Viktor Ullmann’s *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*,” 25.

descending major-seventh. Here, at the end of the “Arie des Trommlers,” Ullmann combines the two motives. Through this association, Kaiser Overall’s motivic presence musically signs and legitimizes Der Trommler’s proclamation of total war, as seen in figure 4.12.<sup>306</sup>

Figure 4.12. V. Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49: Scene 1, Nr. vi: “Arie des Trommlers,” mm. 74-77.

The musical score for measures 74-77 of "Arie des Trommlers" is presented in three staves. The top staff, labeled "TROMMLER", is in treble clef and contains the lyrics "Q - ver-all!" and "U - ber-all!". The middle staff, labeled "TOD", is in bass clef and is mostly empty. The bottom staff, labeled "Piano", is in grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and includes markings for "ff Str.", "Tr.", and "Sax". The tempo is indicated as "Allegro molto a tempo".

The aria contains a combination of spoken dialogue, recitative, lyric recitative, and lyric melody. There are recitative indications in the score for m. 22 and mm. 73-74. The first section of recitative, in m. 22, contains an example of lyric recitative, while the section in mm. 73-74 contains spoken dialogue. A short section of spoken dialogue also occurs at the beginning of the aria. Between these sections Ullmann uses lyric melody style vocal articulation. Instead of being overt, text painting occurs as a result of the use

<sup>306</sup> In Ullmann’s opera, *Der Sturz des Antichrist*, op. 9, a major seventh is associated with the Regent, a character that parallels Kaiser Overall. Wiener, “Legal Notions in Viktor Ullmann’s Last Piano Sonata.”

of the *Kaiserhymne*, harmonic choices, and the military-style accompaniment. In mm. 57-60, the running sixteenth notes in the accompaniment allude to the text, “und der Vernichtung des Bösen in unseren...” (and will end in the destruction of the evil forces throughout...) while the rhythm references the marching of the “evil forces.” Ullmann establishes the intensity of Der Trommler’s proclamation through the thick harmonic texture in the first half of the aria, the staccato stacked chords of the *Passacaglia* section that develop into dense running-sixteenth notes, and the drumroll played under the augmented ‘death motive’ in the final section of the aria. Modal and chromatic harmonies permeate the aria. After the statement of the *Kaiserhymne*, Ullmann balances tonality with atonality through the use of chromaticism, modes, and minor and diminished harmonies. Clearly diatonic cadences end each section of the aria, as demonstrated by the use of the F-minor chord in m. 21 and the A-major chord in m. 32. An exceptional lack of cadence at the end of the aria allows it to flow into Der Tod’s relinquishment of his natural duties and Harlekin’s commentary on the situation. In order to end a concert performance of this aria, the pianist should finish with the octave echoing of the singer in m. 75, as seen in figure 4.11.

Fluctuations in tempo occur frequently within the aria beginning with a spirited *Allegro con brio*, becoming majestic at the *un poco maestoso*, and changing within the recitative sections. The character of the aria changes at the *Andante misurato* (*Passacaglia*). Here Ullmann uses the *Passacaglia* as other nineteenth- and twentieth-century composers did, as “a set of ground-bass or ostinato variations, usually of a

serious character.”<sup>307</sup> Traditionally a *Passacaglia* is in a simple-triple meter; however Ullmann uses a simple-quadruple meter. The change of meters may be a manifestation of the war-weary citizens of Atlantis dragging themselves to fulfill the orders of the Kaiser.<sup>308</sup> Ullmann’s Second Viennese School contemporaries often used traditional forms on which to support newer compositional techniques. The *Passacaglia* is also based in the Baroque German tradition and corresponds with Ullmann’s use of Baroque period invention.

Ullmann uses a combination of simple, compound, and irregular meters that coordinate with the varying styles used in the aria, and to fit the prosody. Nonmetrical meters are used appropriately in the two recitative sections. The simple-quadruple meter assists in the portrayal of Der Trommler’s martial duties, while simultaneously repeating pitches within a pattern of dotted-eighth notes followed by two thirty-second notes, and ending with triplets. These elements are reminiscent of a military fanfare, as seen in some variation in mm. 10, 15, 16, 20, and 21. The sixteenth-note figures in mm. 65-67 also elicit the idea of a fanfare. Ullmann uses *staccato* and *marcato* markings to reinforce the military feel starting in the *Passacaglia* section. The three drumrolls, indicated by a *tremolo*, lend authenticity to Der Trommler’s character and should, if at all possible, be played on a snare drum, even in recital. In the manuscript in instances when there could be a question as to which line belongs to what part, Ullmann distinguishes between Der

---

<sup>307</sup> Alexander Silbiger, “Passacaglia,” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*.  
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21024> (accessed June 26, 2013).

<sup>308</sup> Bravo, “Staging Death,” 224.

Trommler and the drum instrument by underlining “Der Trommler” when the line is for the mezzo-soprano.<sup>309</sup>

Ullmann begins the aria with a drumroll and subsequent statement of the ‘death motive,’ giving the mezzo-soprano the first pitches in her line. The short interlude in mm. 30-32 restates the ‘death motive’ and makes the transition into the *Passacaglia* section where Der Trommler establishes the ostinato pattern, in quarter notes, in mm. 33-36, seen in figure 4.13. The accompaniment contains a transposition of the ‘death motive’ in octaves on the downbeat of each measure. This motive also occurs simultaneously within the vocal line and portrays Der Tod’s relentlessness, for it is only after Der Trommler’s proclamation that Der Tod goes on strike.<sup>310</sup> The accompaniment in mm. 37-48 repeats the vocal line as an ostinato.

Figure 4.13. V. Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49: Scene 1, Nr. vi: “Arie des Trommlers,” mm. 33-36.

Andante misurato (Passacaglia)

TROMMLER

Je - des Kind, ob Knäb - lein, ob Mäd - lein,  
Ev - er - y child a boy child or girl child,

Andante misurato (Passacaglia)

Str.  
pizz.

<sup>309</sup> Viktor Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, November 18, 1944, Sammlung Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte, Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>310</sup> Rollin, “Viktor Ullmann’s The Emperor of Atlantis (1943),” 45.

Ullmann assists the mezzo-soprano by providing shared material between Der Trommler and the accompaniment throughout the aria. The martial accompaniment matches perfectly with Der Trommler's announcement sent from the tyrannical Kaiser.<sup>311</sup> Ullmann's use of spoken text within the aria establishes Der Trommler as the commanding voice of Kaiser Overall. The descending major second, extended by an octave, on the title *Erzpapst* (Arch pope) in m. 23, could be a rejection of Pope Pius XII who signed a concordat aligning the Catholic Church with the Third Reich. Ullmann, who was raised Roman Catholic, may have viewed the Pope's actions as betrayal.<sup>312</sup> The use of a descending octave in m. 23 could be an expression of Kaiser Overall's power and control displayed over the entirety of the musical octave.<sup>313</sup> After the statement of the *Kaiserhymne* and listing of the Kaiser's titles, Ullmann uses angular lines to reinforce the text. The text for the ostinato in the *Passacaglia* section: "Jedes Kind, ob Knäblein, ob Mägdlein" (Every child, whether a boy child or a girl child), could reference both the *Hitler Jugend* (Hitler Youth) for boys and the *Bund Deutschen Mädel* (The League of German Girls). Additionally, this list conscripts all members of society without regard to age, gender, or physical condition, thus breaking down typical societal norms and allowing everyone to equally participate in death.

"Arie des Trommlers" is through-composed and divides into four sections that demonstrate Ullmann's aptitude in combining his knowledge of German musical tradition, twentieth-century compositional techniques, and satire. As discussed

---

<sup>311</sup> Hutcheon and Hutcheon, 170.

<sup>312</sup> Ponché, "Governed by Dissonance," 26-7.

<sup>313</sup> Bravo, "Staging Death," 223.



previously, a varied range of sources influenced Ullmann's opera: Baroque dance forms, the compositions of Brahms, Schoenberg's Third String Quartet, blues and jazz, German 1920s cabaret, and Kurt Weil's dry wit.<sup>314</sup> The opera gives the impression of an allegorical cabaret-style work, but *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, is much more.<sup>315</sup> In this opera Ullmann recalls the once-great power of Atlantis, forgotten by time, and draws parallels between this empire and that of the Third Reich. The work testifies to Ullmann's optimism that Nazi rule would not last a thousand years. In it, Ullmann creates a commentary on the frustrations, pains, and sufferings of those marginalized by the Third Reich for no other reason than their very existence.

Ullmann's instrumentation of the works in this chapter demonstrates the extent of the cultural life available to those imprisoned in Theresienstadt. The quality of these pieces, in conjunction with their historical significance, makes them performable material in academic and cultural settings. The universal themes, choice poets and poems, and the wide acceptance of these pieces by international audiences demonstrate the quality of these works. *Lieder der Tröstung*, "Herbst," and "Arie des Trommlers," can add variety, depth, and interest to any recital program.

---

<sup>314</sup> Rollin, "Viktor Ullmann's The Emperor of Atlantis (1943)," 39; Bravo, "Staging Death," 206.

<sup>315</sup> David Shengold, "Untitled Review," *Opera News* (September 2009): 77.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Conclusion

Viktor Ullmann's vocal compositions have been marginalized if not nearly forgotten. Potential causes for this are Ullmann's imprisonment in Theresienstadt, his death at Auschwitz, and the long-time unavailability of his published scores. In this guide, I have provided singers and teachers of singing with the tools necessary for the successful performance of these works. I sought to clarify some of the misinformation concerning Ullmann and his Theresienstadt works in addition to adding to the existing research. Guidance for the practical performance of Ullmann's works featured herein allows singers, and therefore audiences, to benefit from the widespread performance of these pieces and their acceptance into the classical canon.

Like many other mid-twentieth-century European composers, Ullmann belongs to 'The Lost Generation.' The lives and compositional careers of composers from this period were drastically changed by Nazi Party Fascism.<sup>316</sup> However, instead of being inhibited by his imprisonment in Theresienstadt, Ullmann was inspired and had his most creative compositional period in the ghetto. Most of the works discussed in the guide share similar themes, such as loneliness, frustration, and death all coupled with hope. These pieces are an excellent example of the triumph of the human spirit over impossible circumstances. However, Ullmann's Theresienstadt works should not be defined by their compositional circumstances.

---

<sup>316</sup> James Conlon, dir. *Estranged Passengers: In Search of Viktor Ullmann*, DVD-ROM (Capriccio Records, 2008).

The works discussed in this guide contain stylistic commonalities that include the prolific use of motivic material, the balance of tonality and atonality, the importance of the natural-harmonic-series, careful prosody settings, the use of dynamics to increase tension, overlapping phrase structure, and equality between the vocal line and the accompaniment. A ‘sigh motive’ and the ‘death motive’ from Czech composer Joseph Suk’s Symphony in C Minor, op. 27 (1906), or *Asrael* Symphony, appear frequently throughout these works. The arranged folksongs of *Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)* (Three Yiddish Songs (Birch)), op. 53, are an exception to Ullmann’s style trends because they are arrangements of preexisting melodies. Ullmann understood the challenges faced by vocalists in the performance of twentieth-century music, and he often provided the singer assistance through vocal doubling by way of mirroring the vocal line in the accompaniment.

For each work, Ullmann chose a text that explores the human condition. The Yiddish cycle, *Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)*, op. 53, demonstrates Ullmann’s burgeoning interest in his Jewish heritage. The texts of *Drei chinesische Lieder* (Three Chinese Songs) mirror the conditions in the Theresienstadt ghetto despite being penned more than 1,100 years earlier. Ullmann’s poetic knowledge is evident in his choice of the text by Georg Trakl for “Herbst” (Autumn). *Immer inmitten*, Solo-Kantate nach Gedichten von Hans Günther Adler (Always in the Midst, Solo Cantata with Poetry by Hans Günther Adler) and “Arie des Trommlers” (The Drummer’s Aria) from *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Tod Verweigerung* (The Emperor of Atlantis or Death’s Refusal), op. 49, have powerful texts written by or attributed to fellow Theresienstadt prisoners, that give commentary on life in the ghetto. Ullmann’s continued adherence to

anthroposophy is evident in his use of texts by fellow anthroposophy follower Albert Steffen for *Lieder der Tröstung* (Songs of Consolation). Almost all of the pieces discussed in this guide concern the subject of death or sleep with the exception of the cycle *Drei jiddische Lieder* (*Březulinka*), op. 53.

### Suggestions for Further Study

Performance guides for Ullmann's compositions for baritone and bass—*Liederbuch des Hafis* (Songbook of Hafis), op. 30; *Drei Lieder* (Three Songs), op. 37; and *Der Mensch und sein Tag* (The Man and His Day), op. 47—provide another area of study. Recent research concerning the vocalists who performed Ullmann's Theresienstadt works should be compiled and used to assist in their performance.

New areas of research can be found in comparative studies of Ullmann's surviving operas: *Der Sturz der Antichrist* (The Downfall of the Antichrist), op. 9; *Der zerbrochene Krug* (The Broken Jug); and *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Todverweigerung* (The Emperor of Atlantis or Death Abdicates), op. 49, in addition to Ullmann's libretto for his Joan-of-Arc drama *Der 30. Mai 1431* (The 30<sup>th</sup> of May 1431). An English translation of *Der 30. Mai 1431* has yet to be completed and would make the work more accessible. Also, Ullmann drew from the works of several notable poets and well-known texts for his songs. A comparative study of Ullmann songs that share poets or poetic sources with those of other composers (such as works by Gustav Mahler, Pavel Haas, and Anton Webern) would be a valuable research study. There have been a few comparative studies of Ullmann's compositions with the works of other Theresienstadt composers, but these studies are not exhaustive or in-depth. A study focusing on the effect of World War

II and National Socialism on composers' choices of instrumentation and performers would add to the scholarship. Furthermore, little research has been published on Ullmann's pre-Theresienstadt vocal compositions.

In his opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, Ullmann explores the historically rich medieval *Todtentanz* (Dance of the Dead). *Freund Hein* (Death), often depicted as a fiddler, leads all—no matter profession or societal position—in the *Todtentanz*. In her dissertation, Gwyneth Rachel Bravo discusses the connections between Ullmann's opera and the *Todtentanz*.<sup>317</sup> There may be other connections to or depictions of death made by Ullmann in his Theresienstadt compositions that have yet to be discovered. Also, in-depth character studies of each role in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, may assist in the opera's wider performance.

Pieces discussed in this guide can be analyzed according to the method presented in Rachel Bergman's article "Set on Notes: Palindromes and Other Symmetry in the Music of Viktor Ullmann." Some composers who followed Second Viennese School techniques used palindromic structures in their compositions, but Ullmann's use of this compositional device was much less rigid than that of Anton Webern. In using this method, Ullmann references a key while maintaining an avoidance of that key through atonal context and mirror symmetry. Ullmann used symmetry throughout his compositional career as a means of creating coherence and structure. His works are symmetrical through the use of 'mirror' symmetry, and therefore center on a specific pitch or pair of pitches/pitch class spaces either on the surface or in the larger structure.

---

<sup>317</sup> Gwyneth Rachel Bravo, "Staging Death: Allegory in the Operas of Erwin Schulhoff and Viktor Ullmann" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2011), 230-1.

Occasionally, Ullmann used segments of whole-tone or octatonic collections.

Palindromes manifest themselves through interval classes in his works.<sup>318</sup> Analysis of the pieces discussed in this guide, and Ullmann's other extant works, using this method would add to the scholarly discourse.

Ullmann's compositions can be used to encourage a dialogue concerning the usual categorization of music. Philip V. Bohlman eloquently stated:

With Ullmann's *The Emperor of Atlantis*...we reach a moment of historical disjuncture, the crisis of modernity, at which the musical stage of the Holocaust and of the final stages of modern European Jewish history give voice to the lived-in world of Jews trapped in, yet resisting, the telos of the end of time. No other operatic work allows us to hear those voices so fully as Viktor Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*.<sup>319</sup>

Bohlman's statement highlights the issue of labeling a composer as belonging to a specific category of music. Can Ullmann's compositions be defined as 'Jewish music,' or can music even be defined as Jewish? If Ullmann's works are Jewish music, should they be performed as such? Do Ullmann's pre-Theresienstadt works hold up as Jewish music? Is the cycle *Drei jiddische Lieder* (Three Yiddish Songs), op. 53, Jewish? Does a composer's religion, heritage, circumstance of life, compositional style, or inspiration determine whether his works are Jewish? Does the category of non-religious Jewish music exist, or should it? These complex questions allow for interesting rhetoric and discussion. Regardless of differing opinions on the definition of Jewish music and the

---

<sup>318</sup> Rachel Bergman, "Set on Notes: Palindromes and Other Symmetry in the Music of Viktor Ullmann," *Gamut: Online Journal of Music Theory Society of the Mid-Atlantic* 6, no. 1 (2013) <http://trace.tennessee.edu/gamut/vol6/iss1/6> (accessed October 19, 2013), 194, 196, 199, 214, 208.

<sup>319</sup> Bohlman makes reference to Zygmunt Bauman's influential work, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, with the phrase "the crisis of modernity." Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Alexander Street Press LLC, 1989); Philip V. Bohlman, "Epilogue: Beyond Jewish Modernism," in *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*, foreword by Sander L. Gilman (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 224.

value of performing this music, Ullmann's oeuvre contains powerful works that should be performed because of their superior quality and commentary on human nature and the human experience.

## APPENDIX I

### Texts, International Phonetic Alphabet Transcriptions, and Translations

For ease of performance and accessibility, I generated International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) transcriptions and English translations for each piece in this guide. The organization of the IPA transcriptions and translations is loosely based on the layout of IPASource.com with the original text on the first line. The IPA transcription inhabits the second line, and the third line contains the direct or word-for-word translation followed by the idiomatic translation on the fourth line.<sup>320</sup> None of the pieces discussed in this guide are available on the IPA Source website. I created the German IPA transcriptions by referencing the text *A Handbook of Diction for Singers: Italian, German, and French* as a guide.<sup>321</sup> I translated the cycle *Drei chinesische Lieder* (Three Chinese Songs) and the aria “Arie des Trommlers” (The Drummer’s Aria) into English. The remaining German pieces were translated with the assistance of Dr. Kathleen Maurer.

The organization of the translations and IPA transcriptions for *Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)* (Three Yiddish Songs (Birch)), op. 53, is modified because of discrepancies with the transliterated Yiddish text. The first line contains Ullmann’s transliterated Yiddish text that appears in both the manuscript and in the Schott published score, *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier* (Ullmann: Complete Songs for Voice and Piano). The second line presents the current standard international spelling of the transliterated Yiddish text from the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New

---

<sup>320</sup> Bard Suverkrop, *IPA Source*, <http://www.ipasource.com> (accessed June 21, 2012).

<sup>321</sup> David Adams, *A Handbook of Diction for Singers: Italian, German, French*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 83-143.



York City that appears in the Schott edition's *Editorischer Bericht* (editor's notes).<sup>322</sup> The current standard international spelling does not match the transliterated Yiddish used by Ullmann. In order to remain authentic to Ullmann's original intention for the text, the IPA transcription and translations correspond to Ullmann's transliterated Yiddish text even when the standardized Yiddish differs from Ullmann's setting. "A Mejdle in die Johren" (A Girl Who Is No Longer Young) contains quite a few discrepancies between Ullmann's text and the standardized Yiddish. The third line of text presents the IPA transcription created using the guidelines in the *Anthology of Yiddish Folksongs* and *Yes We Sang!: Songs of the Ghettos and Concentration Camps*.<sup>323</sup> The fourth line presents the direct or word-for-word translation and the last line contains the idiomatic translation, both created with the help of Mira Zakai, Professor Emerita of Voice and Oratorio at Buchmann-Merta School of Music, Tel Aviv University, Israel, and Dr. Heidy Zimmermann of the Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.

---

<sup>322</sup> Viktor Ullmann, *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, edited by Axel and Christian Hoesch (New York: Schott, 2004), 207-13, 239.

<sup>323</sup> Shoshana Kalisch and Barbara Meister. *Yes We Sang!: Songs of the Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), 150; Aharon Vinkovetsky, Abba Kovner, and Sinai Leichte, eds. *Anthology of Yiddish Folksongs* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1989), 1:127.

## Appendix I Contents

<i>Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)</i> , op. 53, “Berjoskele” .....	154
<i>Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)</i> , op. 53, “Margarithelech” .....	156
<i>Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka)</i> , op. 53, “A Mejdel in die Johren” .....	158
 <i>Drei chinesische Lieder</i> , “Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge” .....	160
<i>Drei chinesische Lieder</i> , “Der müde Soldat” .....	161
 <i>Immer inmitten</i> , “Immer inmitten” .....	163
<i>Immer inmitten</i> , “Vor der Ewigkeit” .....	165
 <i>Lieder der Tröstung</i> , “Tote wollen nicht verweilen” .....	169
<i>Lieder der Tröstung</i> , “Erwachen zu Weihnachten” .....	170
 “Herbst” .....	172
 <i>Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Todverweigerung</i> , op. 49, “Arie des Trommlers” .....	174

***Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka) op. 53, “Berjoskele”***

Text: David Einhorn (1886-1973)

**Berjoskele**

Beryozekele

[ber.jɔz.kə.lə]

Little Birch Tree

*(Little Birch Tree)*

**Ruig, Ruig schockelt ihr gelocktes grines Kepel**

Ruik, Ruik skokelt ir geloktes grines kep'l

[ru.ɪç ru.ɪç ʃko.kəlt ɪr gə.lək.təs grin.əs kep.əl]

Quietly, quietly sways its curly green head,

*(Quietly, quietly sways its curly green head,)*

**mein wejssinke Berjoskele un davent on a Schir;**

mayn vaysinke Beryozkele un davent on a shir;

[ma:en va:e.zin.kə ber.jɔz.ke.lə un da.vənt on a ʃɪr]

my little-white birch-tree, and prays without end;

*(my little white birch tree, and prays without end;)*

**jedes, jedes Bletele ihr's shepshet shtil a t'file.**

yedes, yedes bletele irs shepshet shtil a t'file

[je.dəs je.dəs ble.tə.lə ɪrz ʃept.ʃət ʃtil a tʃil.ə]

every, every leaf you whispers softly a prayer.

*(Every, every leaf whispers softly a prayer.)*

**Sej schejn, klein Berjoskele, mispallel ejch far mir!**

zy shoin, klein Beryozkele, mispalel euch fa mir.

[za:e ʃa:en kla:en ber.jɔz.ke.lə mis.pal.əl eux far mir]

Be nice, little birch-tree, say prayer for me!

*(Be nice, little birch tree, say a prayer for me!)*

**Fun weiten Marev hot sich trojrig farganvet**

Fun vayt'n mayrev hot zikh troyerik farganvet

[fun va:e.tən ma:e.rev hot siç trɔ:j.ə.rɪç far.gan.vet]

From far west another are sadly furtively

*(From far in the west, another sad and furtive)*

**in die dine tvejgelech a rizer, zarter Stral,**

in di dine tzvaygelekh a rozer tsarter shtral;

[in di di.nə ts.va:e.gə.leç a riz.ər tsar.tər ʃtral]

between the thin-branches a pink slender ray

*(pink slender ray peeks between the thin branches)*

**un a stillen Kush getun di Bletelech die Klejne,**  
 un a shtil'n kush getun di bletelekh di klayne,  
 [un a ʃtil.ən kʊʃ gə.tun di ble.tel.ləx di kla:e.nə]  
 and a quiet kiss gave the leaves the small,  
*(and gives a quiet kiss to the small leaves,)*

**welche hoben dremlendig gehorcht dem Nachtigall.**  
 velkhe hob'n dremlendik gehorkht dem nakhtigal.  
 [vəl.xə ho.bən drəm.lən.dɪç gə.horxt dəm nax.ti.gal]  
 that were dreamily listening to-the nightingale.  
*(that were dreamily listening to the nightingale.)*

**Fun die weite Felder is a Wintele gekumen**  
 Fun di vayte feilder iz - vintele gekumen  
 [fun di va:e.tə fel.dər iz a win.tə.lə gə.ku.mən]  
 Over the far fields a - wind came  
*(Over the far fields a wind came)*

**un derzejlt die Bletelech Legends on a Shir,**  
 un dertsaylt di geltlekh legendes on a shir,  
 [un der.tsa:elt di ble.te.leç lə.gen.dəs on a ʃir]  
 and told the leaves legends on a song,  
*(and told the leaves legends without end,)*

**Epes hot in Harzen tief bei mir genumen benken.**  
 epes hot in harts'n tif bay mir genumen benk'n  
 [ɛ.pes hot in har.tsən tif ba:e mir gə.nu.mən bən.kən]  
 something else in heart deep to my began yearn.  
*(something else deep in my heart began to yearn.)*

**Sej schejn, klein Berjoskele, mispallel ejch far mir.**  
 zay shoy'n, kleyn Beryozkele, mispalel oykh far mir.<sup>324</sup>  
 [za:e ʃa:ejn kla:en ber.jɔz.ke.lə mis.pal.əl eux far mir]  
 Be nice, little birch-tree, say prayer for me.  
*(Be nice, little birch tree, say a prayer for me.)*

---

<sup>324</sup> The transliterated Yiddish text from the Schott edition differs here from what appears as the transliteration for first strophe. Ullmann, *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, 239.

***Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka) op. 53, “Margarithelech”***

Text: Zalman Shazar (1898-1974)

**Margarithelech**

Margaretkelech

[Mar.ga.ri.tɛ.leç]

Daisies

(*Daisies*)

**In Weldel beim Teichel, dort senen gewaksen**  
 In veld'l baym taykh'l dort zaynen gevaks'n  
 [in vel.dəl ba:em ta:e.kəl dɔrt za:en.ən gə.vax.sən]  
 In-the little-woods by-the creek there currently grew  
 (*In the little woods by the creek there grew*)

**Margarithelech elent un klejn**  
 Margaritkelekh el'nt un kleyn –  
 [mar.ga.ri.tɛ.leç e.lənt un kla:en]  
 daisies lonely and small  
 (*daisies lonely and small*)

**wie kleyninke Sunen mit wejssinke Strahlen,**  
 vi kleyninke zunen mit vaysinke shtrain,  
 [vi kla:en.in.kə zu.nən mit va:e.sin.kə ʃtra.lən]  
 like little suns with white rays,  
 (*like little suns with white rays,*)

**Mit wejssinke tra-la-la-la!**  
 mit vaysinke tra-la-la-la!  
 [mit va:e.sin.kə tra.la.la.la]  
 with white, tra-la-la-la!  
 (*with white, tra-la-la-la!*)

**Gegangen is Chavele still un farcholemt,**  
 gegangen iz Khavele shtil un farkholement,  
 [gə.gaŋ.ən iz xa.ve.lə ʃtil un far.xo.lemt]  
 Walked - Chavele quietly and dreamily,  
 (*Chavele walked quietly and dreamily,*)

**zulosen die goldblonde Zep**  
 tseloz'n di gold-glond tsep;  
 [tsu.loz.ən di gɔlt.blɔn.də tsep]  
 loosened the gold-blond braid  
 (*her gold-blond braid loosened*)

**dos Helzel entblojst un gemurmelt gesungen**

dos heldz'l antbloyzt un gemurm'lt, gezungen

[dos hɛl.tsəl ɛnt.blɔ:jzt un gə.mur.məlt gə.zuŋ.ən]

her neck uncovered, and she-hummed, she-sang

*(her neck uncovered, and she hummed, she sang)*

**A Lidele. Tra-la-la-la!**

A lidele – tra-la-la-la!

[a li.de.lə tra.la.la.la]

a little-song. Tra-la-la-la!

*(a little song. Tra-la-la-la!)*

**Die Sun is forgangen, der Bocher verschwunden**

Di zun iz fargang'n der bokher farshvund'n,

[di zun iz for.gəŋ.ən der bɔx.ər fer.ʃvun.dən]

The sun has set, the young-man has-disappeared,

*(The sun has set, the young man has disappeared,)*

**un Chavele sitzt noch in Wald.**

un Khavele zits nokh in vald.

[un xa.ve.lə zitst nɔx in walt]

and Chavele sits still in-the wood.

*(and Chavele still sits in the wood.)*

**Sie kukt in der weiten un murmelt farcholemt**

Zi kukt in der vayt un murml't farkholemt

[zi kukt in der va:e.tən un mur.məlt far.xo.lemt]

She gazes into the distance and hums dreamingly

*(She gazes into the distance and dreamingly hums)*

**dos Lidele: Tra-la-la-la.**

Dos lidele – tra-la-la-la...

[dɔs li.de.lə tra.la.la.la]

the little-song: Tra-la-la-la.

*(the little song. Tra-la-la-la.)*

***Drei jiddische Lieder (Březulinka) op. 53, “A Mejdle in die Johren”***

Text: Anonymous

**A Mejdle in die Johren**

Ich bin a Mayd'l in di yorn,<sup>325</sup>

[a ma:e.dəl in di jɔ.rən]

A Girl in the Years

*(A Girl Who Is No Longer Young)*

**Ich bin schejn a Mejdle in die Johren,**

Ikh bin shoy'n a Mayd'l in di yorn,

[ɪç bin ʃa:en a ma:e.dəl in di jɔ.rən]

I am already a girl in the years,

*(I am already a girl who is no longer young,)*

**wos hostu mir den Kopf fardreht?**

vos hostu mir mayn kopf fardreyt?

[vos hos.tu mir den kɔpf for.drət]

why did-you my the head confuse?

*(why did you confuse me?)*

**Ich wolt schejn lang a Kale geworden**

Ikh wolt shoy'n lang a kale gevor'n

[ɪç wolt ʃa:en laŋ a ka.le gə.vor.ən]

I would already long a bride have-been

*(I would long since have been a bride)*

**un efscher take Chassene gehat.**

Un efsher take khasene gehat.

[un ɛf.ʃer ta.kə xa.se.nə gə.hat]

and perhaps really marriage have.

*(and perhaps really be married.)*

**Du host mir zugesogt zu nemen,**

Du host mir tsugezot mikn nemen,

[du host mir tsu.gə.zɔkt tsu ne.mən]

You have me promised to take

*(You have promised to take me,)*

---

<sup>325</sup> Ullmann changed the title from the original folksong. Ullmann, *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, 212-3, 239.

**un ich hob ejf Dir gewart;**  
 ikh hob oyf dir lange gevart;  
 [un ɪç ɥop a:ef dir gə.vart]  
 and I have for you waited;  
 (*and I have waited for you.*)

**farvos solstu, Duschenju, mich farschejmen.**  
 far vos zolstu, Dushenyu, mikh farshemen  
 [far.vos sol.stu du.ʃen.ju mɪç far.ʃa:e.mən]  
 Why did-you-have-to Duschenju, me shame.  
 (*Why did you, Duschenju, have to shame me,*)

**Zi hostu Dich in mir genart?**  
 tsi hostu dikh in mir genart?  
 [tsi hos.tu dɪç in mir gə.nart]  
 or did you to me fool?  
 (*or did you make me a fool?*)



**Drei chinesische Lieder, "Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge"**

Text: Li-Tai-Po (701-762)

German translation: Klabund (1890-1928)

**Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge**

[van.dər.ər ɛr.vaxt ɪn der her.bər.gə]

A-traveler awakes in a hostel

(*A traveler awakes in a hostel*)

**Ich erwache leicht geblendet,**

[ɪç ɛr.vax.ə la:ɛçt gə.blɛn.dət]

I awake slightly blinded,

(*I awake slightly blinded,*)

**ungewohnt eines fremden Lagers.**

[ʊn.gə.vont a:ɛ.nəs frɛm.dən la.gərs]

unfamiliar in-a strange camp.

(*unfamiliar in a strange camp.*)

**Ist es Reif, der über Nacht den Boden weiß befiel?**

[ɪst ɛs ra:ɛf der y.bər naxt den bo.dən va:es bə.fil]

Is it frost that over - night the ground white fell?

(*Is it frost that fell white on the ground overnight?*)

**Ich schau in den Mond,**

[ɪç ʃa:o ɪn den mont]

I look at the moon,

(*I look at the moon,*)

**Neige das Haupt, denk' an mein Wanderziel.**

[na:e.gə das ha:opt dɛnk an ma:en van.dər.tsil]

tilt the head, think of my wandering's-destination.

(*tilting my head, thinking of my wandering's destination.*)

***Drei chinesische Lieder, “Der müde Soldat”***

Text: Anonymous, Shi Jing’s *Book of Odes*  
 German translation: Klabund (1890-1928)

**Der müde Soldat**

[der my.də zɔl.dat]

The tired soldier

(*The tired soldier*)

**Ein kahles Mädchen. Heckenblaß<sup>326</sup> entlaubt.**

[a:en ka.ləs mɛ:t.çən hɛk.ən.blas ɛnt.la:opt]

A bald girl pale-hedge defoliated.

(*A bald girl with pale hair is defoliated.*)

**Sie steht am Weg, ich gehe weit vorbei.**

[zi ʃtɛt am vɛk ɪç gɛ.ə va:ɛt for.ba:ɛ]

She stands on-the path, I pass by-at-a distance.

(*She stands on the path and I pass by at a distance.*)

**So steh’n sie alle Reih’ an Reih’ und Haupt an Haupt.**

[zo ʃtɛn zi a.lə ra:e an ra:e ʊnt ha:opt an ha:opt]

So lined-up they all rows of rows and head to head.

(*So they are lined up rank and file and head to head.*)

**Was weiss ich noch von heiligen Gewässern,**

[vas va:es ɪç nɔx fɔn ha:e.lɪ.gən gə.vɛ.sərn]

What know I yet of holy waters,

(*What do I know of holy waters.*)

**was von des Dorfes Abendrot.**

[vas fɔn dɛs dɔr.fəs abɛnt.rot]

what of the village sunset.

(*what of the sunset of the village.*)

---

<sup>326</sup> In the translations by Klabund, *Heckenblaßentlaubt* reads as one word. It is difficult to ascertain from the manuscript whether Ullmann intended for this to be one word or two, as there is a small space between *Heckenblaß* and *entlaubt* in the manuscript. However, the space is no larger than the other spaces Ullmann placed between letters that are unmistakably part of the same word. The Schott published score separates *Heckenblaßentlaubt* into two words. Klabund, *Chinesische Gedichte: Nachdichtungen von Klabund*, pictures by Georg Mayer-Marton (Wien: Phaidon-Verlag, 1933), 8; Klabund, *Dumpfe Trommel und Beraushtes Gong: Nachdichtungen Chinesischer Kriesslyrik*, no. 183 (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1915), 5; Ullmann, *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, 178-80.

**Ich bin gespickt mit tausend Messern**

[ɪç bɪn ɡəˈʃpɪkt mɪt taʊənzənt mɛ.sərn]

I am peppered with a-thousand knives

*(I am peppered with a thousand knives)*

**und müde... müde von dem vielen Tod.**

[ʊnt mydə mydə fɔn dem fi.lən tot]

and tired... tired of the many dead.

*(and tired... tired of the many dead.)*

**Der Kinder Augen sind wie goldner Regen,**

[der kɪn.dər a:o.gən zɪnt vi ɡɔlt.nər re.gən]

The children's eyes are like golden rain,

*(The children's eyes are like golden rain,)*

**in ihren Händen glüht die Schale Wein.**

[ɪn irən hən.dən glyt di ʃa.lə va:en]

In their hands glows the cup wine.

*(in their hands glows the cup of wine.)*

**Ich will mich unter Bäumen schlafen legen**

[ɪç vɪl mɪç ʊn.tər bɔ:ø.mən ʃla.fən le.gən]

I want-to go under trees to-sleeping place

*(I want to lay down under the trees to sleep)*

**und kein Soldat mehr sein.**

[ʊnt ka:en zɔl.dat mer za:en]

and not a-soldier more be.

*(and not be a soldier anymore.)*

**Immer inmitten, “Immer inmitten”**

Text: Hans Günther Adler (1910-88)

**Immer inmitten**

[ɪm.ər ɪn.mɪt.ən]

Always in-the-midst

*(Always in the midst)***Immer inmitten, immer inmitten**

[ɪm.ər ɪn.mɪt.ən ɪm.ər ɪn.mɪt.ən]

Always in-the-midst, always in-the-midst

*(Always in the midst, always in the midst)***durch alle Wunderbezirke geschritten,**

[dɔrç a.lə vʊn.dər.bə.tsɪr.kə ɡə.ʃrɪ.tən]

through all wonderment-districts traveled,

*(through all the districts of wonderment traveled,)***ferne der Heimat doch nahe dem Born,**

[fɛr.nə der ha:e.mat dɔx na.ə dem bɔrn]

Far from home but near the fountain,

*(far from home but near the fountain,)***was hat nicht die Seele alles erlitten,**

[vas hat nɪçt di ze.lə a.ləs ɛr.ɪ.tən]

what has not the soul all suffered,

*(what hasn't the soul all suffered,)***bald streift sie im Moose, bald reißt sie der Dorn**

[balt ʃra:eft zi ɪm mo.zə balt ra:est zi der dɔrn]

soon wanders it in-the mosses, soon plucks it the thorn

*(soon it wanders in the mosses, soon it plucks the thorn)***Zwischen Verzagen und brünstigem Bitten**

[tsvɪ.ʃən fɛr.tsa.gən ʊnt brʏn.sti.gəm bɪ.tən]

between despair and fervent begging

*(between despair and fervent begging)***findet der Mensch sich ins bergende Haus,**

[fɪn.dət der mɛnʃ sɪç ɪns bɛr.gən.də ha:os]

finds the man himself in-the sheltering house,

*(the man finds himself in a sheltering house,)*

**langsam vergißt er, was er gestritten,**

[laŋ.zam fər.ɡɪst ɐr vas ɐr ɡə.ʃtrɪ.tən]

slowly forgets he, what he fought,

*(slowly he forgets, what he once fought for,)*

**endigt ihm einmal gespenstischer Braus**

[ɛn.dɪçt ɪm a:en.mal ɡə.ʃpɛn.stɪ.ʃər bra:os]

Ends it once ghostly noise

*(a once-ghostly noise ended it for him)*

**kommt schlafend der Tod in das Leben geritten.**

[kɔmt ʃla.fənt der tot ɪn das le.bən ɡə.rɪ.tən]

Comes sleeping the death in the life into.

*(sleeping death comes riding into life.)*

**Prasselnde Weise, seltsam verklirrt.**

[pra.səl.n.də wa:e.zə zɛlt.zam fər.klɪrt]

A-noisy Wise-One, strangely clattering.

*(A noisy Wise One, strangely clattering.)*

**Sagen kann niemand, was morgen nun wird:**

[za.ɡən kan ni.mant vas mɔr.ɡən nun vɪrt]

Tell can no-one what tomorrow now is:

*(No one can tell what tomorrow will bring:)*

***Immer inmitten, “Vor der Ewigkeit”***

Text: Hans Günther Adler (1910-88)

**Vor der Ewigkeit**  
 [fɔr der ɛvɪç.ka:et]  
 In-the-Face of Eternity  
*(In the Face of Eternity)*

**Was sind die Dinge dieser Welt?**  
 [vas zɪnt di dɪŋ.ə di.zər vɛlt]  
 What are the things of-this world?  
*(What are the things of this world?)*

**Was sind die Sachen?**  
 [vas zɪnt di zax.ən]  
 What are the things?  
*(What are the things?)*

**Ach, welche Leidenschaften schmerzvoll sich entfachen,**  
 [ax, vɛl.çə la:e.dən.ʃaft.ən ʃmɛrts.fəl zɪç ɛnt.fax.ən]  
 Oh, what passions painful to ignite  
*(Oh, what passions ignite painfully)*

**um eitles Zeug, das jäh zerfällt!**  
 [ʊm a:et.ləs tsɔ:øk das jɛ: tsɛr.fɛlt]  
 Around idle things that abruptly decay  
*(around idle things that will eventually decay!)*

**Wer mag sich bunte Bilder machen?**  
 [vɛr mak zɪç bʊn.tə bɪld.ər max.ən]  
 Who wishes to colorful images create?  
*(Who wishes to create colorful pictures?)*

**Was haben wir bestellt,**  
 [vas ha.bən vɪr bə.ʃtɛlt]  
 What have we asked-for,  
*(What have we asked for.)*

**wo etwas Lust sich vielem Leid gesellt**  
 [vo ɛt.vas lʊst zɪç fi.ləm la:et gə.zɛlt]  
 where some desire is much suffering joins  
*(where some desire joins with much sorrow)*

**und wir als Tote nur erwachen?**

[ʊnt vir als to.tə nur ɛr.wax.ən]

and we as-the dead only awaken?

(*and we awaken only when dead?*)

**Vermessen ist das Maß nicht klar,**

[fɛr.mɛs.ən ɪst das mas nɪçt klar]

Measured is the dimension not clear,

(*Measured is the dimension unclear.*)

**was trüb wir küren.**

[vas tryp vir kyr.ən]

that dimly we elect.

(*that we dimly elect.*)

**Ach, könnten wir das Leben außer uns verspüren**

[ax kœn.tən vir das le.bən a:o.sər ʊns fɛr.ʃpy.rən]

Oh, could we the life outside of-us feel

(*Oh, could we feel the life outside of us*)

**und nicht in zehrender Gefahr!**

[ʊnt nɪçt ɪn tse.rən.dər gə.far]

and not in tearing danger!

(*and not be in tearing danger!*)

**Wer wird zum eigenen Herd uns führen,**

[ver virt tsum a:l.gən.ən hert ʊns fy.rən]

Who will to-the own hearth us lead,

(*Who will lead us to our own hearth.*)

**zur Heimat wunderbar,**

[tsʊr ha:e.mat von.dər.bar]

to-the homeland wonderful,

(*to the wonderful homeland.*)

**zum Muttergrund, wo unser Wähnen wahr**

[tsum mʊ.tər.grʊnt vo ʊn.zər vɛ:n.ən var]

To-the motherland, where our delusion true

(*to the motherland, where our true delusions*)

**sich spornt, die Ewigkeit zu rühren?**

[zɪç ʃpɔrnt di evɪç.ka:et tsu ry.rən]

are encouraged, the eternity to touch?

(*are spurred, to touch eternity?*)

**Die Ewigkeit in uns verzweigt,**<sup>327</sup>

[di eviç.ka:et in uns fər.tsva:ekt]

The eternity in us branched-out,

(*Eternity in us branched out,*)

**erbaut uns Reiche.**

[ər.ba:ot uns ra:ɛç.ə]

built us kingdoms.

(*building us kingdoms.*)

**Ach, wie sie uns umwirbt, wie sie die stolzen Deiche**

[ax vi zi uns ʊm.vɪrpt vi zi di ʃtɔl.tsən da:e.çə]

Oh, how it us courts, how it the proud levees

(*Oh, how it courts us, how its proud levees*)

**Zerbricht und wie sie machtvoll steigt**

[tsɛr.brɪçt ʊnt vi zi maxt.fɔl ʃta:ekt]

Breaks and as it powerfully rises

(*break and as it rises powerfully*)

**in uns zu lösendem Vergleiche,**

[in uns tsu lø.zən.dəm fər.gla:ɪ.ç.ə]

in us to releasing comparisons,

(*in us releasing comparisons,*)

**bis sich der Tod verneigt**

[bɪs zɪç der tot fər.na:ekt]

until are the death bows

(*until death bows*)

**und alles Raunen dieser Welt fromm zeigt**

[ʊnt a.ləs ra:ʊn.ən di.zər wɛlt frɔm tsa:ekt]

and all-the murmurs of-the world pious is

(*and all the murmurs of the world show themselves to be pious*)

---

<sup>327</sup> A dash appears in the Schott published score of “Vor der Ewigkeit” between “uns” (us) and “verzweigt” (branched-out) that does not appear in either H.G. Adler’s original poem or Ullmann’s manuscript. H.G. Adler Collection, *Immer inmitten*, October 30, 1943, King’s College London Archives, London, England; and “Literarische Produktion aus dem Lagerjahren Originalfassungen 1942-1945,” Sammlung H.G. Adler, Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach am Neckar, Germany.



**und schläfernd hüllt mit einem Streiche.**

[ʊnt ʃlɛ:.fɛrnt hʏlt mit a:e.nəm ʃtra:e.çə]

and drowsily wrapped with a-single blow.

*(and drowsily wrapped within a single blow.)*

**Lieder der Tröstung, “Tote wollen nicht verweilen”**

Text: Albert Steffen (1884-1963)

**Tote wollen nicht verweilen:**

[to.tə vɔ.lən nɪçt fɛr.va:e.lən]

The-dead wish not to-linger:

*(The dead do not wish to linger:)*

**Wie sie wallen, wie sie eilen, werfen immer neue**

[vi zi va.lən vi si a:e.lən vɛr.fən ɪm.ər nɔ:ø.ə]

How they surge, how they hasten, casting ever new

*(How they surge, how they hasten, casting ever new)*

**Hüllen von den Seelen**

[hʏ.lən fɔn den ze.lən]

shells of the souls

*(shells of the souls)*

**und erfüllen so ihr Wesen und genesen.**

[ʊnt ɛr.fʏ.lən zo ɪr ve.zən ʊnt gə.ne.zən]

and fulfill thus their being and recovery.

*(and thus fulfill their being and recovery.)*

**Wasser sind wir, tot der Tränen.**

[vas.ər zɪnt vɪr tot der trɛ:n.ən]

Water are we, death the tears.

*(We are water, death of tears.)*

**Luft, erlöst von allem sehnen,**

[loft ɛr.løst fɔn al.əm zen.ən]

Air, redeemed from all longing,

*(Air, redeemed from all longing,)*

**Sonne, selig in dem Lichte, jenseits jeglichem Gewichte.**

[zɔ.nə ze.liç ɪn dem liç.tə jɛn.za:ɛts je.gli.çəm gə.viç.tə]

sun, happy in the light, beyond any burdens.

*(sun, happy in the light, beyond any burdens.)*

**Erdenerbe, es ersterbe.**

[ɛr.də.nɛr.bə ɛs ɛr.ʃtɛr.bə]

Earth's-legacy, it dies.

*(Earth's legacy, it dies.)*

***Lieder der Tröstung, “Erwachen zu Weihnachten”***

Text: Albert Steffen (1884-1963)

**Erwachen zu Weihnachten**

[ɛr.vax.ən tsu va:e.nax.tən]

Awakening at Christmas

*(Awakening at Christmas)*

**Augen noch im Schlaf geschlossen schauen**

[a:o.gən nɔx im ʃlaf gə.ʃlɔs.ən ʃa:o.ən]

Eyes still in sleep closed look

*(Eyes still closed in sleep look)*

**wie auf Purpurschwingen**

[vi a:ɔf pɜr.pɜr.ʃw ɪŋ.ən]

as on purple wings

*(as if they are on purple wings)*

**Engel golden Schalen bringen.**

[ɛ.ŋəl gɔld.ən ʃa.lən brɪŋ.ən]

angels golden bowls bringing.

*(with angels bringing golden bowls.)*

**Schon von Sonne überflossen sehn sie,**

[ʃɔn fɔn zɔ.nə y.bər.flɔs.ən zen zi]

Already by sun overflowing see they

*(Already overflowing by the sun they see)*

**wie die erdenschweren Lasten immer wiederkehren.**

[vi di ɛr.dən.ʃvɛr.ən last.ən ɪm.ər vi.dər.ke.rən]

how the earthly-heavy burdens always return.

*(how the earthly, heavy burdens always return.)*

**Prüfe mit dem Himmelsblicke deinen Leib**

[pry.fə mit dem hɪ.məlz.blɪ.kə da:en.ən la:ep]

Examine with the heaven-glances your body

*(Examine your body with the glances of heaven)*

**im tageslichte:**

[ɪm ta.gəs.lɪç.tə]

in-the light-of-day:

*(in the light of day:)*

**Abwärtsziehende Gewichte einst verschuldeter geschicke.**

[ap.verts. tsi.ən.də    gə.viç.tə    a:enst    fər.ʃul.də.tər    gə.ʃi.kə]

Downward-sinking weights once owed fate.

*(Downward sinking weights once owed by fate.)*

**Wer erkennt im Reich der Sterne,**

[ver    ɛr.kənt    ɪm    ra:eç    der    ʃtɛr.nə]

The-one-who recognizes in-the kingdom the stars,

*(The one who recognizes the stars in the kingdom,)*

**trägt das Leid der Erde gerne.**

[trɛ:kt    das    la:et    der    ɛr.də    gɛr.nə]

carries the suffering of-the earth gladly.

*(carries the suffering of the earth gladly.)*

**Denn das Kreuz ist zu ertragen,**

[dɛn    das    krɔ:øts    ɪst    tsu    ɛr.trag.ən]

Then the cross is to-be borne,

*(Then the cross is to be borne,)*

**seit die Gottheit dran gehangen.**

[za:et    di    gɔt.ha:et    dran    gə.haŋ.ən]

since the deity upon hung.

*(since deity hung upon it.)*

**Licht in uns ist aufgegangen**

[lɪçt    ɪn    ʊns    ɪst    aʊf.gə.gan.ən]

Light in us is risen

*(Light in us is risen)*

**und der Himmel läßt sich fragen.**

[ʊnt    der    hɪ.məl    læst    zɪç    fra.gən]

and the heaven allows-itself to-be asked.

*(and heaven allows itself to be asked.)*

**Schau, es leuchten im Geäste die Gestirne jetzt zum Feste.**

[ʃa:o    ɛs    lɔ:øç.tən    ɪm    ge.ɛs.tə    di    gə.ʃtɪr.nə    jɛ.tst    tsum    fɛs.tə]

Look, it lights in-the boughs the stars now to-the celebration.

*(Look, in the boughs as the stars light us now to the celebration.)*

## “Herbst”

Text: Georg Trakl (1887-1914)

### Herbst

[hɛrpst]

Autumn

**Gewaltig endet so das Jahr**

[gə.val.tɪç ɛn.dət zo das jar]

Strongly ends thus the year

*(Strongly, thus ends the year)*

**mit goldnem Wein und Frucht der Gärten**

[mɪt gɔlt.nəm va:en ʊnt frʊxt der gɛr.tən]

with golden wine and fruit the gardens.

*(with golden wine and fruit of the gardens.)*

**Rings schweigen Wälder wunderbar**

[rɪŋz ʃva:e.gən vɛl.dər vɔn.dər.bar]

Around silently forests wonderful

*(Around us the forests are wonderfully silent)*

**und sind des Einsamen Gefährten.**

[ʊnt zɪnt dɛs a:en.za.mən gə.fɛ:r.tən]

and are the lonely companions.

*(and so are the lonely companions.)*

**Da sagt der Landmann: Es ist gut.**

[da zakt der lant.man ɛs ɪst gut]

Then says the farmer: It is good.

*(Then says the farmer: It is good.)*

**Ihr Abendglocken, lang und leise,**

[ɪr a.bənt.glɔk.ən laŋ ʊnt la:e.zə]

You evening-bells, long and soft,

*(You evening bells, long and soft,)*

**gebt noch zum Ende frohen Mut!**

[gɛpt nɔx tsum ɛn.də fro.ən mut]

gives even to-the end happy courage

*(give happy courage even to the end!)*

**Ein Vogelzug grüßt von der Reise.**

[a:en fo.gəl.tsuk gryst fən der ra:e.zə]

A line-of-birds greets from the travels

*(A line of birds flying by greet from their travels,)*

**Es ist der Liebe golden Zeit:**

[ɛs ɪst der li.bə gəld.ən tsa:et]

It is the love golden time:

*(It is the golden time of love:)*

**Im Kahn den blauen Fluß hinunter,**

[ɪm kan den bla:ɔ.ən flɔs hɪn.ʊnt.ər]

In-the boat the blue river down,

*(In the boat down by the blue river,)*

**wie schön sich Bild an Bildchen reiht.**

[vi şøn zɪç bɪlt an bɪlt.çən ra:et]

how beautifully themselves picture upon smaller picture line-up.

*(how beautifully picture upon smaller picture line themselves up.)*

**Das geht in Ruh und Schweigen unter.**

[Das get ɪn ru ʊnt ʃva:e.gən ʊn.tər]

This - in peace and quiet descends.

*(This descends in peace and quiet.)*

**Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Todverweigerung, op. 49**  
**Nr. VI, "Arie des Trommlers"**

Librettist: Attributed to Peter Kien (1919-44)

**Arie des Trommlers**

[aɪ.iə des trɒm.lərs]

Aria of-the Drummer

*(The Drummer's Aria)*

**Hallo, hallo! Achtung! Achtung!**

[ha.lo ha.lo ax.tʊŋ ax.tʊŋ]

Hello, hello! Attention! Attention!

*(Hello, hello! Attention! Attention!)*

**In Namen seiner Majestät des Kaisers Overall!**

[ɪn na.mən za:e.nər ma.jə.stæt des ka:e.zərs ovər.al]

In-the name of-his Majesty the Emperor Overall!

*(In the name of his majesty the Emperor Overall!)*

**"Wir, zu Gottes Gnaden Overall der Einzige,**

[vɪr tsu ɡɔt.es ɡna.dən ovər.al der a:en.tsi.ɡə]

"We, to God's grace Overall the Only-One,

*("By the grace of God, we Overall the one and only,)*

**Ruhm des Vaterlandes, Segen der Menschheit...**

[rum des fat.ər.lan.des zegən der mən.ʃha:et]

Pride of-the Fatherland, blessing to mankind...

*(Pride of the Fatherland, blessing to mankind...)*

**Kaiser beider Indien, Kaiser von Atlantis,**

[ka:e.zər ba:e.dər ɪn.di.ən ka:e.zər fɒn at.lan.tɪs]

Emperor of-the Indies, Emperor of Atlantis,

*(Emperor of the Indies, Emperor of Atlantis,)*

**Regierender Herzog von Ophir und wirklicher Truchseß der Astarte,**

[rɛ.ɡi.ren.dər hɛr.tsok vɒn ɔf.ɪr ʊnt vɪrk.lɪçər troʊ.ses der a.star.tə]

Reigning Duke of Ophir and true high-priest of Astarte,

*(Reigning Duke of Ophir and true high priest of Astarte,)*

**Ban von Ungarn, Kardinalfürst von Ravenna, König von Jerusalem.**

[ban fɒn hun.garn kar.di.nal.fʏrst fɒn ra.vɛ.na kɒ.nɪç fɒn jɛ.ru.sa.lem]

Lord of Hungary, Cardinal-Prince of Ravenna, King of Jerusalem.

*(Lord of Hungary, Cardinal Prince of Ravenna, King of Jerusalem.)*

**Zur Verherrlichung unserer göttlichen Natur Erzpapst,**  
 [tsʊr fer.hər.lɪç.ʊŋ ʊn.zər.ər gœt.lɪç.ən na.tur erts.papst]  
 To-the glorification of-our godly nature, Arch-Pope,  
*(To the glorification of our godly nature, Arch Pope,)*

**haben in unsrer unfehlbaren,**  
 [ha.bən in ʊn.zər ʊn.fel.ba.rən]  
 have in our perfect,  
*(We have in our perfect,)*

**alles durchdringenden Weisheit beschlossen,**  
 [a.ləs dʊrç.driŋ.ən.dən va:es.ha:et bə.ʃlɔ.sən]  
 all penetrating wisdom decided,  
*(all penetrating wisdom decided,)*

**überall unser Gebiet den grossen,**  
 [ybər.al ʊn.zər gə.bit den gro.sən]  
 throughout-all our empire the great,  
*(throughout all our great empire,)*

**Segensreichen Krieg aller gegen alle zu verhängen.**  
 [ze.genz.ra:ɛç.ən krik a.lər ge.gən a.lə tsu fər.hɛŋ.ən]  
 blessed war all against all to declare.  
*(to declare a blessed war of all against all.)*

**Jedes Kind, ob Knäblein, ob Mägdlein,**  
 [je.dəs kɪnt ɒp knɛ:bla:ən ɒp mɛ:kt.la:ən]  
 Every child, whether boy-child or girl-child,  
*(Every child, whether a boy child or a girl child,)*

**jede Jungfrau, Gattin, Mutter, jeder Mann,**  
 [je.də juŋ.fra:o ga.tɪn mʊt.ər je.dər man]  
 every maiden, wife, mother, every man,  
*(every maiden, wife, and mother, every man,)*

**ob krumm oder grade,**  
 [ɒp kɾʊm ɒdər gra.də]  
 whether crooked or upright,  
*(whether crooked or upright,)*

**wird die Waffe führen in diesem heiligen Kampf,**  
 [vɪrt di va.fə fy.rən in di.zəm ha:e.lɪ.gən kampf]  
 shall the weapon carry in this holy crusade,  
*(shall now carry weapons in this holy crusade,)*



**des mit dem Sieg unserer apostolischen Majestät**

[dɛs mɪt dem zɪk ʊn.sər.ər a.pos.to. lɪ.fən ma.jəs.tɛ:t]

of with the victory of-our apostolic majesty

*(which must end in victory for our most apostolic majesty)*

**und der Vernichtung des Bösen in unseren Landen enden wird.**

[ʊnt der fɛr.nɪç.tʊŋ dɛs bø.zən ɪn ʊn.zə.rən lan.dən ɛn.dən vɪrt]

and the destruction of-the evil-forces throughout our-mighty-realm will end

*(and will end in the destruction of the evil forces throughout our mighty realm.)*

**Mit diesem Augenblicke erklären wir den Feldzug für Siegreich eröffnet.**

[mɪt di.zəm a:o.gən.blɪc.kə ɛr.klɛ:r.ən vɪr den fɛlt.tsuk fyr zɪk.ra:ɛç ɛrɔf.nɔt]

with this moment proclaim our (the) campaign for triumphantly opened.

*(With this very instant we proclaim our campaign triumphantly opened.)*

**Unser alter Verbündeter, der Tod,**

[ʊn.zər al.tər fɛr.byn.dətər der tot]

Our old ally the Death,

*(Our old ally, Death,)*

**wird uns sein glorreiches Banner vorantragen,**

[vɪrt ʊns za:en glɔ.ra:ɛçəs ba.nər fɔr.an.tra.gən]

shall us his glorious banner lead-the-way,

*(shall lead the way with his glorious banner,)*

**Im Namen unserer großen Zukunft und seiner großen Vergangenheit,**

[ɪm na.mən ʊn.zər.ər gros.ən tsu.kʊnft ʊnt za:en.ər gros.ən fɛr.gən.ən.ha:et]

in-the name of-our great future, and his great past.

*(in the name of our great future, and his great past.)*

**Streitet tapfer!**

[stra:et.ət tap.fər]

Fight bravely!

*(Fight bravely!)*

**Gegeben im Jahre fünfzehn unserer segensreichen Regierung.**

[gə.ge.bən ɪm ja.rə fɪnf.zən ʊn.zər.ər ze.gənz.ra:e.çən re.gi.rʊŋ]

Decreed in-the fifteenth-year of-our beneficent reign.

*(Decreed in the fifteenth year of our beneficent reign.)*

**Gezeichnet: Overall!"**

[gə.tsa:ɛç.nət ovər.al]

Signed: Overall!"

*(Signed: Overall!"*

## APPENDIX II

### Translations for Relevant Poetry and Texts

The translations for the H.G. Adler's poems "Abschied" (Farewell) and "Es ist Zeit" (It is Time) are presented in this appendix to give further context to Viktor Ullmann's solo cantata *Immer inmitten* (Always in the Midst), which is discussed in chapter 3. Adler wrote four poems for Ullmann to set to music for this cantata, but Ullmann only set two of the poems. The manuscripts for these poems are held in the Deutsches Literaturarchiv (German Literature Archive) in Marbach am Neckar, Germany. The Adler poems listed below were translated into English with the assistance of Dr. Kathleen Maurer. The text for Joseph Haydn's hymn "Gott erhalten Franz den Kaiser" (God Save Franz the Emperor) and the later text of "Deutschlandlied" (Song of Germany), set to the same hymn, are translated into English to provide context for the use of this manipulated hymn in "Arie des Trommlers" (The Drummer's Aria) from *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Tod Verweigerung* (The Emperor of Atlantis or Death's Refusal), op. 49. A full discussion of the use of this hymn in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, op. 49, is presented in chapter 4. I translated the text of "Gott erhalten Franz den Kaiser" into English, and the translation of "Deutschlandlied" is found in Gwyneth Rachel Bravo's dissertation, "Staging Death: Allegory in the Operas of Erwin Schulhoff and Viktor Ullmann." The translations follow as indicated below:

H.G. Adler, "Abschied".....	178
H.G. Alder, "Es ist Zeit".....	179
L. Hauska, "Gott erhalten Franz den Kaiser".....	180
H. Fallersleben "Deutschlandlied".....	181

## H.G. Adler, "Abschied"

### Abschied

Lebt wohl ihr blumen, wald und feld!<sup>328</sup>  
 Ich bin verschieden dieser welt,  
 Der Sturm bricht los, der felsen weint.  
 Der pfeil ist spitz, die sehne schnell,  
 Im dunkel grinst der alte feind.  
 Der boden wankt, das himmelszelt  
 Zerstürzt, von fahlem gram versteint.

An leib und seele wird mir kalt,  
 Die nacht befährt mich mit gewalt.  
 Nicht weiß ich aus, noch weiß ich ein,  
 Die schwanke finsternis umkrallt

Mich luster voller hohn und pein,  
 Und da ich lahme, wird wohl bald  
 Gelöscht mein karges erdensein.

Nun lust und liebe mich verläßt,  
 Packt mich ein panter gierig fest.  
 Es fällt mein horn, es dorrt mein stab,  
 Eishagel schüttert in mein nest.  
 Der totenengel würgt im trab  
 Und rüstet knöchern steif sein fest.  
 Mich wirft es in das frühe grab.

### Farewell

Farewell, you flowers, forest and field!  
 I passed away from this world,  
 The storm breaks forth, the rock cries.  
 The arrow is pointed, the longing fast,  
 In the dark the old enemy smirks.  
 The ground shakes, the sky shatters  
 Destroyed, petrified by pale grief.

In body and soul I am cold,  
 The night drives on me with violence  
 I know not if I am out or in,  
 The wavering darkness digs its claws into  
 me

Lustily and I am full of scorn and pain,  
 And since I [am] lame, my meager earthly  
 existence will probably soon be snuffed out.

Now, desire and love leave me,  
 A panther grabs me firmly and greedily  
 My horn falls, my rod withers,  
 Hail pelts into my nest.  
 The angel of death chokes me in flight  
 And his grip makes my bones stiffen.  
 It throws me into an early grave.

---

<sup>328</sup> Only the first letter in each strophe is capitalized by Adler in his typed poems from Theresienstadt. "Literarische Produktion aus dem Lagerjahren Originalfassungen 1942-1945," Sammlung H.G. Adler, Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach am Neckar, Germany.

**H.G. Adler, “Es ist Zeit”**

## Es ist Zeit

Fort, immer weiter..! es ist noch nicht zeit,<sup>329</sup>  
 Gemach zu ruhen  
 Und nur zu tun,  
 Was bei sich bleibt —:  
 dies ist nicht an der zeit,  
 Doch zu ergänzen  
 Sich birgt; dies anzubahnen ist es zeit,  
 Um im empfinden  
 Den weg zu finden,  
 Das fremde heimzubringen in die zeit  
 Und unverwandt  
 Ans all verwandt  
 Die fülle zu durchschürfen, wird es zeit!

## It is Time

Continued, on and on..! it is not yet time  
 Take your time  
 and to do only this,  
 What stays with you —:  
 this is not the time,  
 But the complement  
 is concealed, it is time to pave the way,  
 In order to perceive  
 to find the way,  
 to bring the stranger home in the time  
 and unrelated  
 yet, all related to the  
 Time to digging through the wealth!

---

<sup>329</sup> Only the first letter in each strophe is capitalized by Adler in his typed poems from Theresienstadt. “Literarische Produktion aus dem Lagerjahren Originalfassungen 1942-1945,” Sammlung H.G. Adler, Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach am Neckar, Germany.

**L. Hauska, “Gott erhalten Franz den Kaiser”**

Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser

God Save Franz the Emperor

Gott erhalte Franz, den Kaiser,  
unsern guten Kaiser Franz!  
Lange lebe Franz, der Kaiser,  
in des Glückes hell stern Glanz!  
Ihm erblühen Lorbeerreiser,  
wo er geht, zum Ehrenkranz!  
Gott erhalte Franz, den Kaiser,  
unsern guten Kaiser Franz!

God save Franz, the Emperor,  
our good Emperor Franz!  
Long live Franz the Emperor,  
in the star light of happiness shine!  
May laurel branches bloom for him,  
wherever he goes, as a wreath of honor.  
God save Franz the Emperor,  
our good Emperor Franz!

## H. Fallersleben, “Deutschlandlied”

### Deutschlandlied

Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,  
über alles in der Welt,  
Wenn es stets zu Schutz und Trutze  
brüderlich zusammenhält  
von der Maas bis an die Memel,  
von der Etsch bis an den Belt –  
Deutschland, Deutschland über alles  
über alles in der Welt.

Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit  
für das deutsche Vaterland  
Danach laßt uns alle streben  
brüderlich mit Herz und Hand!  
Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit  
sind des Glückes Unterpfand.  
Blüh’ im Ganze dieses Glückes  
blühe, deutsches Vaterland.

### Song of Germany<sup>330</sup>

Germany, Germany above all,  
above everything in the world  
When, always, for protection and defense  
brothers stand together  
from the Maas to the Memel  
from the Etsch to the Belt,  
Germany, Germany above all  
above all in the world.

Unity and right and freedom  
for the German Fatherland;  
Let us all strive to this goal  
brotherly, with heart and hand.  
Unity and rights and freedom  
are the pledge of fortune grand.  
Prosper in this fortune’s glory,  
prosper German fatherland.

---

<sup>330</sup> Gwyneth Rachel Bravo, “Staging Death: Allegory in the Operas of Erwin Schulhoff and Viktor Ullmann” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2011), 217-8.

## APPENDIX III

### Suggestions for Pieces to Pair with Ullmann Works in Recital

The purpose of this list is to make Viktor Ullmann's music easier to program in recital by suggesting works and song cycles that pair well with the Ullmann pieces discussed in this guide. The pieces listed below are appropriate for most mezzo-sopranos singing at the graduate level. Hopefully, this list will inspire performers to explore these and other works that pair well with Ullmann's works. This list was created with the assistance of contralto Mira Zakai, Professor Emerita of Voice and Oratorio at Buchmann-Merta School of Music, Tel Aviv University, Israel, and professional recording artist of works by Viktor Ullmann.

#### Pieces by Fellow Holocaust Composers

##### *Suite Yiddish* (1984)

1. In Shtetl
2. Di Bobe gedenkt ir ershtn Bal
3. Viglid
4. Jossele un Jankele af der Britshke
5. Mitsve Tants
6. Progrom un Kadish
7. Un trotzdem

Composer: Norbert Glanzberg (1910-2001)

Language: Yiddish

Text Source: Unknown

Instrumentation: Voice and piano

Publisher: Durand-Salabert-Eschig

Approximate Length: 31 minutes

##### "Lullaby" (1943)

Original Melody: Emmanuel Ha-Russi

Composer: Gideon Klein (1919-45)

Language: Hebrew

Text Source: Shalom Charitonov

Instrumentation: Voice and piano  
 Publisher: Bote and Bock (for high voice)<sup>331</sup>  
 Approximate Length: 2.5 minutes

*"Ich wandre durch Theresienstadt" Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier (1943-44)*<sup>332</sup>

1. Ich wandre durch Theresienstadt
2. Wiegenlied
3. Ade, Kamerad!
4. Dobrý den (Guten Tag)
5. Denn alles wird gut (Emigrantenlied)
6. Ukolébavka (Wiegenlied)
7. Und der Regen rinnt
8. Wiegala

Composer: Ilse Weber (1903-44)  
 Language: German  
 Text Source: Ilse Weber  
 Instrumentation: Voice and guitar or piano  
 Publisher: Bote and Bock  
 Approximate Length: 14 minutes

#### Pieces by Ullmann's Contemporaries and Mentors

*Sieben frühe Lieder* for medium voice and piano (1905-08)

1. Nacht
2. Schilflied Die Nachtigall
3. Traumgekrönt
4. Im Zimmer
5. Liebesode
6. Sommertage

Composer: Alban Berg (1885-1935)  
 Language: German  
 Text Source: No. 1 Carl Hauptmann (1858-1921), No. 2 Nikolas Lenau (1802-50), No. 3 Theodor Storm (1817-88), No. 4 Rainer Maria Rilke (1875-1926), No. 5 Johanness Schlaf (1862-1941), No. 6 Otto Erich Harleben (1864-1905), No. 7 Paul Hohenberg (1885-1956)  
 Instrumentation: Middle voice and piano  
 Publisher: Universal Edition  
 Available at: IMSLP Petrucci Music Library  
 Approximate Length: 25 minutes

---

<sup>331</sup> The tessitura of "Lullaby" is likely too high for most mezzo-sopranos. A lower transposition of this work would be acceptable as songs are often transposed for varying voice types.

<sup>332</sup> Original versions and arranged versions of each piece are available in the Bote and Bock edition.



*Vier Lieder, op. 2 (1910)*

1. Schlafen, schlafen, nichts als schlafen!
2. Schlafend trägt man mich in mein Heimatland
3. Nun ich der Riesen Stärksten überwand
4. Warm die Lüfte, es sprießt Gras auf sonnigen Wiesen

Composer: Alban Berg (1885-1935)

Language: German

Text Source: No. 1 Friedrich Hebbel (1813-63) and Nos. 2-4 Alfred Mombert (1872-1942)

Instrumentation: Voice and piano

Publisher: Universal Edition

Available at: IMSLP Petrucci Music Library

Approximate Length: 7.5 minutes

*Sechs Lieder für eine mittlere Singstimme und Klavier, op. 3 (1899-1903)*

1. Wie George von Frundsberg von sich selber Sang ...aus *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*
2. Die Aufgeregten
3. Warnung
4. Hochzeitslied
5. Geübtes Herz
6. Freihold

Composer: Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951)

Language: German

Text Source: No. 1 *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (published 1805), No. 2 Gottfried Keller (1819-90), No. 3 Richard Dehmel (1863-1920), No. 4 Jens Peter Jacobsen (1847-85), No. 5 Gottfried Keller, and No. 6 Hermann Lingg (1820-1905)

Instrumentation: Voice and piano

Publisher: Belmont Music Publishers

Available at: IMSLP Petrucci Music Library

Approximate Length: 16 minutes

*Fünf Lieder aus "Der siebente Rings," op. 3 (1908-09)*

1. Dies ist ein Lied für dich allein
2. Im Windesweben
3. An Baches Ranft
4. Im Morgentaun
5. Kahl reekt der Baum

Composer: Anton Webern (1883-1945)

Language: German

Text Source: Stefan Anton George (1868-1933)

Instrumentation: Voice and piano

Publisher: Universal Edition

Available at: IMSLP Petrucci Music Library

Approximate Length: 4 minutes

*Vier Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier, op. 12 (1915-17)*

1. Der Tag ist vergangen
2. Die geheimnisvolle Flöte
3. Schien mir's, als ich sah die Sonne
4. Gleich und Gleich

Composer: Anton Webern (1883-1945)

Language: German

Text Source: No. 1 Peter Rosegger (1843-1918), No. 2 Li-Tai-Po (701-762) and translated into German by Hans Bethge (1876-1946), No. 3 August Strindberg (1849-1912), and No. 4 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832)

Instrumentation: Voice and piano

Publisher: Universal Edition

Available at: IMSLP Petrucci Music Library

Approximate Length: 6.5 minutes

*Ofrahs Lieder (1916)*

1. In meinem Garten steh'n zwei Rosen
2. Nichts ist die Welt mir
3. Er sah mir liebend in die Augen
4. Denkst du des kühnen Flugs der Nacht
5. Nur dir, fürwahr, mein stolzer Aar

Composer: Kurt Weill (1900-50)

Language: German

Text Source: Based on text by Jehuda Halevi (1075-1141)

Instrumentation: Voice and piano

Publisher: European American Music Company

Approximate Length: 10 minutes

*Two Folksongs of the New Palestine (1938)*

1. Havu l'venim (Bring the Bricks)  
Original melody: Mordecai Seira
2. Baa M'nucha (Song of the Emek -- There Comes Peace unto the Weary)  
Original melody: Daniel Sambursky

Composer: Kurt Weill (1900-50)

Language: Hebrew

Text Source: No. 1 Anonymous Text and No. 2 Nathan Alterman (1910-70)

Instrumentation: Voice and piano

Publisher: European American Music Company

Approximate Length: 7 minutes

*Fünf Lieder, op. 7 (1898-99)*

1. Da Waren Zwei Kinder
2. Entbietung
3. Meeraugen
4. Irmelin Rose

## 5. Sonntag

Composer: Alexander Zemlinsky (1871-1942)

Language: German

Text Source: No. 1 Christian Morgenstern (1871-1914), No. 2 Richard Dehmel (1863-1920), No. 3 Richard Dehmel, No. 4 Jans Peter Jacobsen (1847-85), and No. 5 Paul Wertheimer (1874-1937)

Instrumentation: Voice and piano

Publisher: Wilhelm Hansen

Available at: IMSLP Petrucci Music Library

Approximate Length: 10.5 minutes

*Sechs Lieder auf Gedichte von Maurice Maeterlinck*, op. 13 (1913)

1. Die drei Schwestern
2. Die Mädchen mit den verbundenen Augen
3. Lied der Jungfrau
4. Als ihr Geliebter schied
5. Und kehrt er einst heim
6. Sie kam zum Schloß gegangen

Composer: Alexander Zemlinsky (1871-1942)

Language: German

Text Source: Maurice Maeterlinck (1862-1949)

Instrumentation: Voice and piano

Publisher: Universal Edition

Available at: IMSLP Petrucci Music Library

Approximate Length: 17 minutes

### Pieces that Share Themes or Similar Instrumentation with Ullmann's Works

“Erbarne dich, mein Gott,” no. 39 from *St. Matthew Passion*, BWV 244 (1727)

Composer: J.S. Bach (1685-1750)

Language: German

Text Source: Gospel of Matthew, German translation by Martin Luther

Instrumentation: Voice, violin, and piano

Publisher: Hal Leonard

Available at: IMSLP Petrucci Music Library

Approximate Length: 7 minutes

“A Simple Song” from *Mass* (1971)

Composer: Leonard Bernstein (1918-90)

Language: English

Text Source: Liturgy of the Roman Mass, Stephen Schwartz (b. 1948), and Leonard Bernstein

Instrumentation: Voice and piano

Publisher: Boosey and Hawkes  
Approximate Length: 4.5 minutes

*Zwei Gesänge*, op. 91

1. Gestillte Sehnsucht (1884)
2. Geistliches Wiegenlied (1863-64)

Composer: Johannes Brahms (1833-97)

Language: German

Text Source: No. 1 Friedrich Rückert (1788–1866) and No. 2 Emanuel Geibel (1815–84) after Lope Felix de Vega Carpio (1562–1635)

Instrumentation: Voice, viola, and piano

Publisher: International Music Company

Available at: IMSLP Petrucci Music Library

Approximate Length: 12 minutes

*Biblické Písně*, op. 99; b. 185 (1894)

1. Oblak a mrákota jest vůkol Něho
2. Skryše má a paveza má Ty jsí
3. Slyš, ó Bože, slyš modlitbu mou
4. Hospodin jest můj pastýř
5. Bože! Bože! Píseň novou
6. Slyš, ó Bože, volání mé
7. Při řekách babylonských
8. Popatřiž na mne a smiluj se nade mnou
9. Pozdvihuji oči svých k horám
10. Zpívejte Hospodinu píseň novou

Composer: Antonín Dvořák (1841-1904)

Language: Czech

Text Source: *The Bible of Králice*

Instrumentation: Voice and piano

Publisher: Schirmer's Library of Musical Classics, Vol. 1825

Available at: IMSLP Petrucci Music Library

Approximate Length: 25 minutes

*Four Songs for Voice and Violin*, op. 35 (1916-17)

1. Jesu Sweet
2. My soul has nought but fire and ice
3. I sing of a maiden
4. My Leman is so true

Composer: Gustav Holst (1874-1934)

Language: English and Middle English

Text Source: Anonymous source from *A Medieval Anthology*, edited by Mary Segar

Instrumentation: Voice and violin

Publisher: Masters Music Publications

Available at: IMSLP Petrucci Music Library  
 Approximate Length: 8 minutes

*Chants Populaires Hébraïques*, op. 86 (1925)

1. La séparation
2. Le chant du veilleur
3. Chant de délivrance
4. Berceuse
5. Gloire à Dieu
6. Chant hassidique

Composer: Darius Milhaud (1892-1974)

Language: French

Text Source: Folksong Text

Instrumentation: Voice and piano

Publisher: Alphonse Leduc

Approximate Length: 13 minutes

*Deux Mélodies Hébraïques* (1914)

1. Kaddisch
2. L'Enigme Eternelle

Composer: Maurice Ravel (1875-1937)

Language: No. 1 Aramaic and No. 2 French

Text Source: No. 1 Biblical Text and No. 2 Anonymous Source

Instrumentation: Voice and piano

Publisher: Hal Leonard Corporation, Editions Durand

Available at: IMSLP Petrucci Music Library

Approximate Length: 8 minutes

“Youth, Day, Old Age, and Night” (1957)

Composer: Ned Rorem (b. 1923)

Language: English

Text Source: Walt Whitman (1819-92)

Instrumentation: Voice and piano

Publisher: Boosey and Hawkes

Approximate Length: 2 minutes

“See How They Love Me” (1958)

Composer: Ned Rorem (b. 1923)

Language: English

Text Source: Howard Moss (1922-87)

Instrumentation: Voice and piano

Publisher: Boosey and Hawkes

Approximate Length: 1.5 minutes

“Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening” (1974)

Composer: Ned Rorem (b. 1923)

Language: English

Text Source: Robert Frost (1874-1963)

Instrumentation: Voice and piano

Publisher: Boosey and Hawkes

Approximate Length: 2 minutes

#### Pieces by Ullmann Composed before 1942

*Six Sonnets de Louise Labé*, op. 34 (1941)

1. Claire Vénus (Sonnet V)
2. On voit mourir (Sonnet VII)
3. Je vis, je meurs (Sonnet VIII)
4. Luth, compagnon (Sonnet XII)
5. Baise, m'encor (Sonnet XVIII)
6. Oh si j'étais (Sonnet XIII)

Composer: Viktor Ullmann (1898-1944)

Language: French

Text Source: Louise Labé (1526-66)

Instrumentation: Voice and piano

Publisher: Schott

Approximate Length: 10.5 minutes

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Articles

- Alfers, Sandra. "Poetry from the Theresienstadt Transit Camp, 1941-1945." *Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association*. <http://rmmla.wsu.edu/ereview/64.1/articles/alfers.asp> (accessed May 19, 2012).
- "Anthroposophy." *Goetheanum*. <http://www.goetheanum.org/Anthroposophy.anthroposophie.0.html?&L=1> (accessed March 11, 2013).
- Arnold, Ben. "Art Music and the Holocaust with Accompanying Catalog of Musical Compositions Dealing with the Holocaust." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 6 (1991): 335-49.
- Baxter, James Reid. "Viktor Ullmann's Opus Ultimum." *Tempo* 171 (December 1989): 48.
- Benetoková, Vlasta. "Die Rückkehr Viktor Ullmanns." In *Musik in Theresienstadt: Die Referate des Kolloquiums in Dresden am 4. Mai 1991 und ergänzende Studien herausgegeben von Heidi Tamar Hoffmann und Hans-Günter Klein*, 73-82. Berlin: [s.n.], 1991.
- Bergman, Rachel Elizabeth. "Creativity in Captivity: Viktor Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*." *The Opera Journal* 32 (June 2005): 3-19.
- . "Set on Notes: Palindromes and Other Symmetry in the Music of Viktor Ullmann." *Gamut: Online Journal of Music Theory Society of the Mid-Atlantic* 6, no. 1 (2013). <http://trace.tennessee.edu/gamut/vol6/iss1/6> (accessed October 19, 2013).
- Black, Leo. "The Return of the Repressed." *The Musical Times* 136 (May 1995): 230-2.
- Bloch, David. "'No One Can Rob of Us Our Dreams': Solo Songs from Terezin." *Israel Studies in Musicology* 5 (1990): 69-80.
- Bloch, Max. "Viktor Ullmann: A Brief Biography and Appreciation." *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 3 (October 1979): 150-77.
- Bohlman, Philip V. "Epilogue: Beyond Jewish Modernism." In *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*, 153-77. Foreword by Sander L. Gilman. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Bravo, Gwyneth. "Viktor Ullmann." *OREL Foundation*. [http://orelfoundation.org/index.php/composers/article/viktor\\_ullmann/](http://orelfoundation.org/index.php/composers/article/viktor_ullmann/) (accessed August 18, 2012).

*The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, s.v. "Theosophy." <http://www.credoreference.com/entry/cupdphil/theosophy> (accessed March 16, 2013).

*Contemporary Authors Online, Biography in Context*, s.v. "Albert Steffen." [http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&source=&search\\_within\\_results=&action=e&catId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CH1000094616&userGroupName=munc80314&jsid=ea22ff3b95f9dfb06f3867802d303afe](http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&source=&search_within_results=&action=e&catId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CH1000094616&userGroupName=munc80314&jsid=ea22ff3b95f9dfb06f3867802d303afe) (accessed May 16, 2013).

*Contemporary Authors Online, Biography in Context*, s.v. "Georg Trakl." [http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&source=&search\\_within\\_results=&action=e&catId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CH1000099613&userGroupName=munc80314&jsid=f15b07237e3230ccea4e5086f91e3e0b](http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&source=&search_within_results=&action=e&catId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CH1000099613&userGroupName=munc80314&jsid=f15b07237e3230ccea4e5086f91e3e0b) (accessed May 16, 2013).

*Contemporary Authors Online, Biography in Context*, s.v. "H.G. Adler." [http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&search\\_within\\_results=&p=BIC1&action=e&catId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CH1000000644&source=Bookmark&u=munc80314&jsid=d170cd09154ad2c0f15e63ccdb4b3f7b](http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&search_within_results=&p=BIC1&action=e&catId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CH1000000644&source=Bookmark&u=munc80314&jsid=d170cd09154ad2c0f15e63ccdb4b3f7b) (accessed December 5, 2013).

*The Encyclopaedia of the Renaissance*, s.v. "Rosicrucianism." <http://www.credoreference.com/entry/mheren/rosicrucianism> (accessed March 16, 2013).

Flam, Gila. "Holocaust: Music and the Holocaust." *YIVO Encyclopedia*. [http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Holocaust/Music\\_and\\_the\\_Holocaust](http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Holocaust/Music_and_the_Holocaust) (accessed May 28, 2012).

Freeman, Robin. "Excursus: 'Nedej Zahynouti Nam Ni Budoucim, Svatý Václave' (Klein, Ullmann, and Others in Terezín)." *Tempo* 60 (2006): 34-46.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Gideon Klein, Moravian Composer." *Tempo* 59 (2005): 2-18.

Frenk, Ruth. "Freizeitgestaltung—Vocal Music in Theresienstadt, 1942-1944." *Journal of Singing* (November/December 2013): 147-55.



- Gilmore, Gregory. "Musical and Cultural Activities Inside Terezín, 1941-1945." *Music Research Forum* 11 (1996): 22-47.
- Intrator, Miriam. "'People Were Literally Starving for Any Kind of Reading': The Theresienstadt Ghetto Central Library, 1942-1945." *Library Trends* (Winter 2007): 513-22.
- John, Eckhard. "Music and Concentration Camps: An Approximation." Translated by Ernest F. Livingstone. *Journal of Musicological Research* 20 (2001): 269-323.
- Karbusicky, Vladmir. "Der Traum von der Menschlichen Ohnmacht des Diktators." *Musica* 47 (1993): 272-77.
- Klein, Hans-Günter. "Viktor Ullmann." In *Musik in Theresienstadt: Die Referate des Kolloquiums in Dresden am 4. Mai 1991 und ergänzende Studien herausgegeben von Heidi Tamar Hoffmann und Hans-Günter Klein*, 60-72. Berlin: [s.n.], 1991.
- Kuperman, Shifra. "Eynhorn, Dovid." Translated by Carrie Friedman-Cohen. *YIVO Encyclopedia*. [http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Eynhorn\\_Dovid](http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Eynhorn_Dovid) (accessed October 28, 2013).
- Lee, J.Y. "Some Reflections on the Authorship of the *I Ching*." *Numen* 17 (December 1970): 200-10.
- Lesle, Lutz. "Komponieren an der Grenze des Lebens: 'Freizeitmusik' aus Theresienstadt, Nach 50 Jahren wiederentdeckt." *Das Orchester* 44 (1996): 2-7.
- Merriam Webster's Biographical Dictionary*, 1987 ed., s.v. "Li Po." [http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&source=&search\\_within\\_results=&action=e&catId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CK1680098265&userGroupName=munc80314&jsid=ff0b7e9c9b0609b322f1b47e75af4936](http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&source=&search_within_results=&action=e&catId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CK1680098265&userGroupName=munc80314&jsid=ff0b7e9c9b0609b322f1b47e75af4936) (accessed July 29, 2013).
- Mlotek, Chana. "Folk Songs." *YIVO Encyclopedia*. [http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Folk\\_Songs](http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Folk_Songs) (accessed May 28, 2012).
- Nemtsov, Jascha, and Beate Schröder-Nauenburg. "Musik im Inferno des Nazi-Terrors: Jüdische Komponisten im 'Dritten Reich'." *Acta Musicologica* 70 (1998): 22-44.
- Opfermann, Charlotte. "Untitled Review." *H-Net Book Review*. <http://www.trinitypark.com/charlottetest/composing.htm> (accessed May 28, 2012).

- Poché, Kelley. "Governed by Dissonance: Death, Deutschland, and the Drummer-Girl in Viktor Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*." *Harmonia – The GAMuT Form 5* (2002-03): 18-28.
- Pugin, Tristram. "Ullmann: 4 Songs from *Liederbuch des Hafis*, op. 30; *Der Mensch und sein Tag*, op. 47; 'Herbst,' Lied mit Streichtrio (Trakl); 6 Songs from *Geistliche Lieder*, op. 20; *Drei Lieder*; *Drei Chinesischen Lieder*; 'Wendla im Garten'; 'Little Cakewalk' by Petr Matuszek; Aleš Kaňka; Pavel Eret; Libor Kaňka; Vladan Koči; Viktor Ullmann." *Tempo* 210 (1999): 48-50, 52.
- Rolef, Susan. "Shneour Zalman Shazar." *Encyclopaedia Judaica. Biography in Context*. [http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&source=&search\\_within\\_results=&action=e&catId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=G](http://ic.galegroup.com.proxy.bsu.edu/ic/bic1/ReferenceDetailsPage/ReferenceDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=BIC1&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=Reference&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sortBy=&source=&search_within_results=&action=e&catId=&activityType=&scanId=&documentId=GALE%7CK2587518250&userGroupName=munc80314&jsid=87cf1f769a62383a79cede0abc5de798) ALE%7CK2587518250&userGroupName=munc80314&jsid=87cf1f769a62383a79cede0abc5de798 (accessed October 28, 2013).
- Rollin, Robert. "Viktor Ullmann's The Emperor of Atlantis (1943): An Opera Composed in Terezin Concentration Camp." *Ex Tempore* 12, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2004): 38-46.
- Reittererova, Vlasta. "The Hába 'School'." *Czech Music* (2005): 9-12.
- Schultz, Ingo. "'...ich bin schon lange ein begeisterter Verehrer Ihres, *Wozzeck*:' Viktor Ullmann und Alban Berg." *Musiktheorie* 7, no. 2 (1992): 113-28.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Literarische Motive in Viktor Ullmanns Operschaffen mit einem Exkurs zur Harmonik in 'Kaiser von Atlantis.'" *Kontexte-Musica Iudaica 1996* (1997): 159-73.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Das 'Wahnsinns-Terzett' Nr. XV aus Viktor Ullmanns 'Der Kaiser von Atlantis': Fragment oder Fassung von Letzter Hand?" *Mr-Mitteilungen* 52, no. 53 (2004):4-14.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Quellenkritische Anmerkungen zum Autograph der Oper *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* von Viktor Ullmann." In *Exilmusik Komposition während der NS-Zeit*, edited by Friedrich Geiger and Thomas Schäfer, 267-89. Hamburg: von Bockel Verlag, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Viktor Ullmann." In *Komponisten in Theresienstadt*, edited by Initiative Hans Krása Verein der Freunde und Förderer der Theresienstadt Initiative e. V., 61-80. Hamburg: Hans Christians Druck und Verlang GmbH, 1999.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Werkverzeichnis und Biographie Viktor Ullmann." In *Viktor Ullmann: Beiträge, Programme, Dokumente, Materialien, Veranstaltungen in der Sommerakademie Johann Sebastian Bach, Stuttgart 1998*, edited by Christian Eisert, 14-31. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998.

Shengold, David. "Untitled Review." *Opera News* (September 2009): 76-7.

Silbiger, Alexander. "Passacaglia." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21024> (accessed June 26, 2013).

Suverkrop, Bard. *IPA Source*. <http://www.ipasource.com> (accessed June 21, 2012).

Ullmann, Viktor. "Zur Frage der Modernen Vokalmusik." *Der Auftakt* 9 (1929): 273-75.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, s.v. "Theresienstadt." *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005424> (accessed November 3, 2011).

Veidle, Theodor. "Viktor Ullmann, der Lineare." *Der Auftakt* 9, no. 3 (1929): 77-8.

Wiener, Michael. "Copyright Issues in Viktor Ullmann's Works." *MultiMania*. <http://mitglied.multimania.de/mwiener/ullmann/legal.pdf> (accessed July 30, 2012).

\_\_\_\_\_. "Legal Notions in Viktor Ullmann's Last Piano Sonata." *MultiMania*. <http://mitglied.lycos.de/mwiener/ullmann/eaufsaeetze.html> (accessed October 8, 2013).

### Books

Adams, David. *A Handbook of Diction for Singers: Italian, German, French*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Adler, H.G. *Theresienstadt, 1941-1945, Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft, Zweite Auflage*. Afterword by Jeremy Adler. Göttingen, Germany: Wallstein Verlag, 2012.

Bauman, Zygmunt. *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Cambridge: Alexander Street Press LLC, 1989.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Jewish Music and Modernity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Claudius, Matthias. *Sämtliche Werke*. Zürich: Buchclub Ex Libris, 1969.

- Gorrell, Lorraine. *Discordant Melody: Alexander Zemlinsky, His Songs, and the Second Viennese School*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.
- The Earl of Harwood, ed. *The Definitive Kobbé's Opera Book*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1987.
- Heskes, Irene. *Passport to Jewish Music: Its History, Traditions, and Culture*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994.
- Hutcheon, Linda, and Michael Hutcheon. *Opera: The Art of Dying*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Kalisch, Shoshana, and Barbara Meister. *Yes We Sang!: Songs of the Ghettos and Concentration Camps*. New York: Harper and Row, 1985.
- Kantor, Alfred. *The Book of Alfred Kantor: An Artist's Journal of the Holocaust*. New York: Schocken Books, 1987.
- Karas, Joža. *Music in Terezín: 1941-1945*. Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1985.
- Kimball, Carol. *Song: A Guide to Art Song Style and Literature*. Revised ed. Milwaukee: Hal Leonard, 2005.
- Klabund [pseud.]. *Chinesische Gedichte: Nachdichtungen von Klabund*. Pictures by Georg Mayer-Marton. Wien: Phaidon-Verlag, 1933.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Dumpfe Trommel und Beraushtes Gong: Nachdichtungen Chinesischer Kriegslyrik*. No. 183. Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1915.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Li=tai=pe: Nachdichtungen von Klabund*. No. 201. Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1916.
- Klein, Hans-Günter, ed. "...es wird der Tod zum Dichter" *Die Referate des Kolloquiums zur Opera "Der Kaiser von Atlantis" von Viktor Ullmann in Berlin am 4./5. November 1995*. Hamburg: von Bockel Verlag, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. Viktor Ullmann—*Materialien*. Vol. 2 of *Verdrängte Musik—NS-verfolgte Komponisten und ihre Werke*. Hamburg: von Bockel Verlag, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. Viktor Ullmann—*Die Referate des Symposiums...* Vol. 12 of *Verdrängte Musik—NS-verfolgte Komponisten und ihre Werke*. Hamburg: von Bockel Verlag, 1996.
- Kloiber, Rudolf, Wulf Konold, and Robert Maschka. *Handbuch der Oper*. New York: Bärenreiter, 2006.

- Korbel, Josef. *Twentieth-Century Czechoslovakia: The Meanings of Its History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1977.
- Kramer, Aaron, ed. and trans. *The Last Lullaby: Poetry from the Holocaust*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1998.
- Lederer, Zdenek. *Ghetto Theresienstadt*. New York: Fertig, 1953.
- Locke, Brian S. *Opera and Ideology in Prague*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2006.
- Naegele, Verena. *Viktor Ullmann: Komponieren in Verlorener Zeit*. Köln: Dittrich, 2002.
- Obata, Shigeyoshi, ed. and trans. *The Works of Li Po the Chinese Poet Done into English Verse by Shigeyoshi Obata: Introduction and Biographical and Critical Matter Translated from the Chinese*. New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1928.
- Oertelt, Henry A., and Stephanie Oertelt Samuels. *An Unbroken Chain: My Journey Through the Holocaust*. Minneapolis: Lerner Publication Company, 2000.
- Rosen, Philip, and Nina Apfelbaum. *Bearing Witness: A Resource Guide to Literature, Poetry, Art, Music, and Videos by Holocaust Victims and Survivors*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.
- Rovit, Rebecca, and Alvin Goldfarb, eds. *Theatrical Performance during the Holocaust: Texts, Documents, Memories*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1999.
- Schultz, Ingo. *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008.
- Smith, Joan Allen. *Schoenberg and His Circle: A Viennese Portrait*. New York: Schirmer Books, 1986.
- Stevens, Lewis. *Composers of Classical Music of Jewish Descent*. Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2003.
- Troller, Norbert. *Theresienstadt: Hitler's Gift to the Jews*. Translated by Susan E. Cernyak-Spatz. Edited by Joel Shatzky with the assistance of Richard Ives and Doris Rauch. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
- Ullmann, Viktor. *26 Kritiken über Musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt*. Vol. 3 of *Verdrängte Musik—NS-verfolgte Komponisten und ihre Werke*. Neumünster, Germany: von Bockel Verlag, 2011.

Vinkovetsky, Aharon, Abba Kovner, and Sinai Leichte, eds. *Anthology of Yiddish Folksongs*. Vol. 1. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1989.

Zarlino, Gioseffo. *On the Modes: Part IV of Le Istitutioni Harmonische, 1558*. Edited by Claude V. Palisca and translated by Vered Cohen. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983, 23. Quoted in Gwyneth Rachel Bravo, "Staging Death: Allegory in the Operas of Erwin Schulhoff and Viktor Ullmann." PhD diss, University of California, Los Angeles, 2011.

#### Media, Recordings, and Scores

Anders, Frieder, baritone, and Stella Goldberg, piano. *Haas, Krasa and Ullmann: Lieder from Terezín and Before*. Ars Produktion. CD. 2003.

Conlon, James. *Estranged Passengers: In Search of Viktor Ullmann*, DVD. Produced by Johannes Kernmayer. Vienna: Capriccio Records, 2008.

Drčar, Alexander, conductor, Herbert Gantschacher, artistic director, and Arbos Gesellschaft für Musik und Theater. *Viktor Ullmann, Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. Studio Matouš. CD. MK 0022-2 631. 1995.

*Terezín: The Music 1941-44*. Produced by Alexander Goldscheider. London: Romantic Robot. CD. RR 1941. 1991.

Holzmair, Wolfgang, baritone, and Russell Ryan, piano. *Spiritual Resistance Music from Theresienstadt*. Bridge Records, Inc. CD 9280. 2009.

*KZ Musik, Encyclopedia of Music Composed in Concentration Camps (1933-1945)*, Vol. 1, Vol. 2, and Vol. 4. *iTunes* (accessed May 19, 2012).

Mahler, Gustav. *Des Knaben Wunderhorn: Gesänge für eine Singstimme mit Orchesterbegleitung nach dem Text der Kritischen Gesamtausgabe herausgegeben von Renate Stark-Voit unter Mitarbeit von Thomas Hampson*, Band 2. Vienna: Universal Edition A.G., 1999.

Mazura, Franz and the Gewandhausorchester Leipzig. *Ullmann: Der Kaiser von Atlantis/Hölderlin-Lieder, World Première Recording*. Decca Music Group Limited. CD. BA 925. 440 854-2. 1994.

*Musica Rediviva—Viktor Ullmann Lieder*. Orfeo International Music GmbH, München. CD. C 380 952 H. 1995.

Suty, Valérie, soprano, and Vladimir Stoupel, piano. *Elegy for the Jewish Villages: Laks, Ravel, Ullmann, Weisgall*. EDA Edition Abseits. CD. LC 06597. 2007.

Ullmann, Viktor. *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Tod-Verweigerung*, op. 49. Musicological revision by Andreas Krause. English translation by Sonja Lyndon. New York: Schott, 1993.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Ullmann: Drei Lieder für Singstimme und Streichtrio*. New York: Schott, 2005.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Ullmann: Klaviersonaten*. Vol. 1. Edited by Konrad Richter. New York: Schott, 2001.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*. Edited by Axel and Christian Hoesch. New York: Schott, 2004.

Von Otter, Anne Sofie, mezzo-soprano, Benget Forsberg, piano, Christian Gerhaher, baritone, and Daniel Hope, violin. *Terezín/Theresienstadt*. Deutsche Grammophon. CD 00289 477 6546. 2007.

#### Unpublished Sources

Bergman, Rachel. "The Musical Language of Viktor Ullmann." PhD diss., Yale University, 2001. In ProQuest Dissertations Theses, <http://proquest.umi.com.mcll.library.csulb.edu/pqdweb?did=728502771&sid=1&Fmt=6&client=14436&RQT=309&VName=PQD> (accessed July 30, 2012).

Bravo, Gwyneth Rachel. "Staging Death: Allegory in the Operas of Erwin Schulhoff and Viktor Ullmann." PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2011.

Healey, John Paul. "The Solo Piano Music of Viktor Ullmann: from Prague to the Holocaust—A Performer's Guide to the Complete Piano Sonatas and Variations." DMA diss., University of Cincinnati, 2001.

H.G. Adler Collection. Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach am Neckar, Germany.

H.G. Adler Collection. King's College London Archives, London, England.

Hoffmann, Martin. "Memory and Foreboding in Viktor Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*." Lecture, Reimagining Erwin Schulhoff, Viktor Ullmann, and the German-Jewish-Czech World: An International Conference. Arizona State University, March 4-5, 2012.

Marcus, Jackelyn. "Voices of Survival: Opera in Theresienstadt." Master's thesis, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, 2012.

Mullen, Wendy Anne. "The Lieder of Viktor Ullmann: *Sechs Geistliche Lieder*." DMA diss., Arizona State University, 1999.

Permanent Exhibition, "Fiftieth-Birthday Album," 1924. Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna, Austria.

Penning, Rick A. "Voices from Terezin: A Study of the Lives and Works of Pavel Haas, Gideon Klein, Hans Krása and Viktor Ullmann." DMA project recital document, University of Minnesota, 2000.

Ross, Hugh R. "Aesthetic Reflections on Viktor Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*." Master's thesis, California State University, Long Beach, 2011.

Upton, Radha. "Between Heaven and Earth: Viktor Ullmann's Steffen-Lieder Op. 17." DMA diss., University of North Carolina, Greensboro, 2011.

Viktor Ullmann Musikmanuskripte. Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland.